A Reference Grammar

of Punjabi

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Harjeet Singh Gill

Henry A. Gleason, Jr.

A Reference Grammar of Punjabi

2013 revised edition by

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PREFACE

A Reference Grammar of Punjabi was first published as Hartford Studies in Linguistics, number 3, in 1962. The Patiala edition differs from the Hartford version in two respects : the revised section on the phonology of Punjabi reflects my stay at Paris (1964-68) as a member of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique with Professor Andre Martinet and there are two new chapters-On the Concept of Linguistic Sanjam and the Phonology of Punjabi as compared to that of Hindi and other Aryan languages; secondly, in the chapter dealing with morphology and syntax, the Punjabi examples are given in Gurumukhi orthography instead of earlier phonemically transcribed words or phrases.

If I had enough time, I would probably have rewritten the second part also to bring it closer to my present theoretical inclinations. In a reference grammar of this type, however, the traditional presentation is perhaps more suited. Moreover, the syntactic analysis based on the syntagmatic autonomy or the functional independence of phrases followed in this grammar is definitely closer to the Punjabi sentence patterns. This autonomy plays a vital role in stylistics and the present writer considers style to be an integral part of language, whatever level of discourse we may be analysing. *The primordial interest here is not only to construct the so-called grammatical sentences but those sentences which serve to communicate the ideas or impressions most effectively*. The ideal is communication, not just talking. This is why, most of the examples given in this grammar are taken directly from contemporary literature. Those who are interested in a further expose of these views may refer to my article, *Syntaxe fonctionnelle du pendjabi*, published in the proceedings of the International Congress of Linguists, Bucharest, 1967.

In the running text of the second part, the words written in Gurumukhi are sometimes given in oblique bars. This is by oversight and no phonemic significance may be attached to them.

I regret very much that in preparing the Patiala edition. I did not have the privilege of discussing all these changes with Professor Gleason under whose guidance the first version was presented.

In the end I would like to thank Danielle Gill with whom I discussed many of these theoretical issues and who read the first part of this grammar with me.

Patiala, November, 1969. Harjeet Singh Gill

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The 2013 edition is annotated and revised by Mukhtiar Singh Gill, Project Associate with the active participation of Professor Gurpreet Singh Lehal, Director of the Advanced Centre for the Technical Development of Punjabi Language, Literature and Culture, Punjabi University, Patiala.

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ON THE CONCEPT OF LINGUISTIC SANJAM

Following Ferdinand de Saussure, we believe that a linguistic structure is like a game of chess where the elements or pawns must be described in terms of their internal relationship and oppositions. The structure of the labial oppositions p/b/ph/bh in Sanskrit, p/b/ph in Punjabi, p/b in English and a single labial stop /p/ in Tamil demonstrates clearly that the function of /p/ in each language is different. The oppositional network of dental and retroflex stops in Sanskrit, Punjabi, English and Tamil is as follows:

Sanskrit	Punjabi	English	Tamil
t ṭ	t ṭ	t	t ṭ
th ṭh	th ṭh	d	
d ḍ	d ḍ		
dh ḍh			

In simple mathematical terms, we can summarise the systems as 2×4, 2×3, and 2×1. The division of the phonetic domains and the phonological arrangement in each of these language is congruent only to the oppositional network peculiar to the language concerned. In other words, each language has its own structural economy. We may compare a few vowel systems to see how different the structural organisations can be.

Latin	Arabic	Turkish	Punjabi
ī ū	ī ū	ī ü ɯ o	ī ū
			i u
e o	ā	ä ö ā o	e a o
			ɛ ɔ
ā			ā

The phonetic range of the Latin phoneme /ī/ covers most of what the Punjabi /i/ does and in certain positions, the Punjabi /i/ is more like the Latin /e/. Similarly, the /e/ of Latin coincides partially with the Punjabi /e/ and partially with /ɛ/ though under certain phonological conditions, the Punjabi /ɛ/ is closer to the Latin /ā/. A similar statement could be made about Latin /ū/ and /o/. The Arabic three vowel system has its own phonological oppositional net-work. Most of the distinctive sounds of Punjabi /ɛ ā a ɔ/ form a part of the domain of the single Arabic phoneme /ā/. The Turkish vowel oppositions are structured in a different way. Both the front and back vowels have rounded and unrounded counterparts.

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Each system has its own structural economy or Sanjam. If there are two divisions of the front vowels of Latin, the back vowel spectrum is also divided into two. Arabic has only one high front and one high back vowel. Turkish system of rounded and unrounded vowels has a parallel structure both with the high and the low vowels. The Punjabi vowels spectrum is divided 2×4.

A detailed analysis of the Punjabi vowel system shows other instances of structural economy. There are two classes of vowels: peripheral vowels /ī e ɛ ā ū o ɔ/ and centralised vowels /i a u/, sometimes known as long and short. Now, this dichotomy is established on the fact that the centralised vowels never occur finally and the oppositions peripheral /central-ɨ/ī, a/ā, u/ū are neutralised. Furthermore, in the pretonal position and before geminates, we have only the centralised vowels. In these positions, a Punjabi speaker has economy of the language required that all centralised vowels have a similar phonological pattern and they did.

Another example may be taken from the Gurumukhi writing system. The symbols ਿ and ੁ are employed to designate different but structurally parallel vowels.

	ਿ		ੁ	
ਕਿਸ	/kis/	/i/	ਕੁੜਤਾ	/kuṛtā/ /u/
ਕਿਹੜਾ	/kéṛā/	/e/	ਕੁਹੜਾ	/kóṛā/ /o/
ਕਹਿਣਾ	/kɛ́ṇā/	/ɛ/	ਬਹੁਤਾ	/bɔ́tā/ /ɔ/

With mid tone, ਿand ੁdesignate parallel front and back vowels /i/ and /u/. With high tone, hooked to the letter preceding ਹ, they correspond to the mid-low vowels /e/ and /o/ and with ਹ , the low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

Some scholars who do not understand this structural economy of our writing system try to alter the spellings of one of the members of this group without realising that they are actually heading towards a general disharmony and confusion.

A structural harmony of this type may or may not exist at all times and in every language but if there is an uneven system, the structural economy would require its hormonisation which is more often than not a clue to diachronic development.

The concept of structural economy or its Punjabi rendering *Sanjam* ਸੰਜਮ in no way implies the usual sense of economising or being miserly. Even in economics where this term is borrowed from, it has a wide range of meanings denoting, organisation, planning, structure etc. The linguistic economy as explained by André Martinet in his monumental work, Economie des changements phonétiques, Berne, 1955 refers to structural economy which in Turkish is maintained through a parallel system of front and back rounded and unrounded vowels, eight in all. In Arabic, only three vowels keep this equilibrium and, in Punjabi, we require ten.

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In diachronic adjustments too, the structural parallelism is necessary. Once the pre-classical Sanskrit had borrowed the retroflex sounds /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ the structural economy required the development of their aspirate counterparts /ṭh/ and /ḍh/ to fill the gap in the two series /ph th ch kh/ and /bh dh jh gh/. Later on, when the tones became an integral part of the Punjabi language, it was not just one phoneme but the whole series of voiced-aspirates /bh dh ḍh jh gh/ that disappeared.

The concept of structural parallelism need not however, force the researchers to its logical extremes. It must be remembered that it is only a tendency or a phenomenon of what are called 'pulls' and 'pushes' and may not always be an already established fact.

As social scientists, we must recognise such incongruencies when the occasion arises. For example, /p/ and /b/ are in opposition in the initial position in German and Russian and are distinct phonemes but word-finally, this opposition is neutralised and we have what is called an archiphoneme. In French, /e/ and /ɛ/ are two distinct phonemes when they occur at the end of a word but in other positions they are represented by their archiphoneme which is realised as [e] or [ɛ] depending upon certain phonological conditions.

There are several cases of neutralisation in Punjabi. n/ṇ, l/ḷ, n/ŋ which are in opposition with each other in medial or final position are represented by their non-retroflex archiphoneme in the initial position. The vowels i/ī, u/ū, a/ā are distinct phonemes in non-final positions under tonal contours. These distinctions are, however, neutralised in pre-tonal position as in /wiˈkāiā/'sold' /čuˈkā/,' help lift' /saˈtāī/' twenty-seven' where only the archiphonemic forms of centralised vowels occur. Generally, p/b, t/d, ṭ/ḍ, č/j and k/g are distinct phonemes in Punjabi but medially before a low tone, the opposition voiceless/voiced is neutralised and these phonemes are replaced by their archiphonemic forms /b d ḍ j g/.

The concept of economy or Sanjam ਸੰਜਮ is not just restricted to phonology, it covers all aspects of linguistic structure such as morphology ਸ਼ਬਦ ਸੰਗੀਤ, syntax ਵਾਕ ਸੰਗੀਤ and semantics ਭਾਵ ਸੰਗੀਤ. Each language has its own pattern or organisation ਜੁਗਤ. Furthermore, the elements of a structure are organised in a particular arrangement or order ਗੋਂਦ.

The morphological categories in any two languages never coincide exactly. For the English, He leaves tomorrow, He throws a ball, He leaves her for good, we must have an entirely different set of constructions in Punjabi. There is no parallel structure in any other Indian or non-Indian language to the oppositional system within the Punjabi present-tense ਮੈਂ ਜਾਂਨਾ ਆਂ and ਮੈਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਆਂ.

In the domain of semantics, ਭਾਵ ਸੰਗੀਤ we have two things to consider: the associational meanings and the general semantic range that a word in a language has at a given stage in history. In the course of time, certain words acquire associational meanings of the type that they can no more be used in all social situations. For this reason, I consider my term ਭਾਵ ਸੰਗੀਤ more comprehensive than its equivalent' semantics' since the word ਸੰਗੀਤ refers to aesthetic taste. In Punjabi, the words like ਪੱਦ,ਗੱਦ,ਰੂੜੀ,ਬਿੰਬ are regularly used in some un-

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aesthetic contexts and the structure of the Punjabi ਭਾਵ ਸੰਗੀਤ does not allow us to employ these in literary discussions.

The other aspect of semantics is its structural oppositional system as such. The way the English words 'good' and 'bad' are related to and oppose each other is quite different from where one can be used and not the other. For an example of a new emerging oppositional structure, take the Punjabi words, Khalsa and Sikh. The word 'Khalsa', in Arabic, where it comes from means 'pure', 'possession' etc. and is only a lexical item. But, after the epistemological decision taken by Guru Gobind Singh on the famous Baisakhi day, this word acquires a heavily charged philosophical significance in Sikh metaphysics and is related to and in opposition with the word 'Sikh' that came from Sanskrit where it certainly did not have the peculiar semantic range it has today. The etymologies of these words will tell us very little, if anything, about the new structure.

The Sikh greetings, Sat Sri Akal, means literally, Truth is immortal. This does not give us any idea of how this phrase is used in modern times. Apart from the fact that it is a form of greetings, it is also a war cry, a proclamation of peace, a hurrah of agreement, a phrase that is used for an opening ceremony etc., etc. To understand the meanings of a word or a phrase, one must know all the contexts in which it is used. It also demonstrates that over a period of time the semantic ranges change and for the proper use of language, we must take notice of it.The word 'guru' in Sanskrit had a wide range of meanings such as teacher, heavy, long, important, father-in-law, ancestor, proud, arduous, difficult, a long (syllable), a serious (affair) etc. etc. but only a few of these have any validity in modern Punjabi.

Alongwith the morphological structure, ਸ਼ਬਦ ਜੁਗਤ and the syntactic structure, ਵਾਕ ਜੁਗਤ the semantic structure, ਭਾਵ ਜੁਗਤ is changed fundamentally over a long period of time. The etymological approach of going back to the so-called original meanings ignores the new semantic oppositions and relationships. The significance of elements in a given structure is determined by the way they are arranged. When the order changes, the significance changes with it. This is not only true of individual words or phrases like Khalsa, Sikh or Sat Sri Akal as we discussed earliar but also of whole structural units like for example the composition, Japuji. Derivations of words or comparative studies of isolated concepts of Japuji with some other sacred texts does not tell us anything about the overall metaphysical significance of this composition. It is only the study of the inter-relationships of the epithets for God in the *mūlmantra* and the pattern of correlation and oppositional network of thirty-eight steps or ਪਉੜੀਆਂ of Japuji which are radically different from any othercomparable semantic structure anywhere that would lead us to its proper comprehension.

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CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 CONSONANTS

A set of twenty-nine distinctive consonantal phonemes is set up on the basis of the following oppositions:

1. VOICED AND VOICELESS STOPS

k/g

kāḷī	'black'	gāḷī	'abuse'
rokī	'stopped'	rogī	'sick'
sok	'dryness'	sog	'mourning'

č/j

čāl	'gait'	jāl	'net'
sočī	'thought'	sójī	'welfare'
kač	'glass'	kaj	'cover'

ṭ/ḍ

ṭoḷ	'find'	ḍoḷ	'drum'
moṭī	'fat'	móḍī	'leading'
čhaṭ	'big bag'	čhaḍ	'leave'

t/d

tāḷ	'step'	dāḷ	'dāl'
motī	'pearl'	modī	'merchant'
lat	'leg'	lad	'load'

p/b

pāḷ	'line'	bāḷ	'child'
nappe	'pressed'	nabbe	'ninety'
čip	'beat'	čib	'dent'

2. ASPIRATE AND UNASPIRATE STOPS

k/kh

kāḷī	'black'	khāḷī	'stream'
sukkā	'dry'	sukkhā	'a drug'
suk	'dryness'	sukh	'peace'

č/čh

čāḷ	'gait'	čhāḷ	'jump'
maččī	'flared'	maččhī	'fish'

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	wič	‘in’	wičh	‘spread’
ṭ/ṭh				
	ṭīkā	‘injection’	ṭhḯkā	‘pebble’
	miṭṭī	‘soil’	miṭṭhī	‘sweet’
	maṭ	‘pot’	maṭh	‘assembly’
t/th				
	tāḷ	‘tank’	thāḷ	‘dish’
	pattī	‘leaf’	patthī	‘plastered’
	rat	‘blood’	rath	‘chariot’
p/ph				
	paḷ	‘moment’	phaḷ	‘fruit’
	juppā	‘yoked’	japphā	‘stronghold’
	lep	‘plaster’	leph	‘mattress’

3. DENTALS AND RETROFLEXES

t/ṭ				
	tīr	‘arrow’	ṭīr	‘squint eye’
	motī	‘pearl’	moṭī	‘fat’
	jat	‘wool’	jaṭ	‘farmer’
th/ṭh				
	thap	‘plaster (v.)’	ṭhap	‘cover’
	matthā	‘forehead’	maṭṭhā	‘slow’
	hath	‘hand’	haṭh	‘stamina’
d/ḍ				
	dāṇ	‘charity’	ḍáṇ	‘branch’
	áddī	‘half’	aḍḍī	‘separated’
	sád	‘Sadhu’	sáḍ	‘add’
n/ṇ				
	ūnī	‘woolen’	ūṇī	‘not full’
	man	‘mind’	maṇ	‘maund’
r/ṛ				
	pārī	‘a name’	pāṛī	‘tore away’
	mèr	‘grace’	mèṛ	‘stick’
l/ḷ				
	pālī	‘a name’	pāḷī	‘brought up’
	mal	‘occupy’	maḷ	‘rule’
s/š				
	ser	‘seer’	šer	‘lion’
	tāsī	‘dish’	kāšī	‘Kashi’
	lās	‘welt’	lāš	‘corpse’

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2.2 PHONETICS OF THE CONSONANTS

	velar	palatal	retroflex	dental	labial
stops: voiceless	k	č	ṭ	t	p
voiced	g	j	ḍ	d	b
aspirate	kh	čh	ṭh	th	ph
nasals	ŋ	ñ	ṇ	n	m
flaps and trill			ṛ	r	
laterals			ḷ	l	
sibilants			š	s	
fricatives				(z)	(f)
glottal	h				
Semi-vowels		(y)			(w)

All consonants in word-final position have a slight vocalic release when the tone occurs on the preceding syllable. This release is of importance in the tone system as is further described in chapter three on tones.

Stops and nasals occur at five points of articulation : velar, palatal, retroflex, dental and labial. There are four series : voiceless unaspirate, voiceless aspirate, voiced unaspirate, and nasal. All twenty combinations occur and are phonemic.

Velar articulations vary from pre-velar to mid-velar or slighty post-velar. The exact articulation is conditioned by adjacent vowels.

Palatal articulations are frontal and pre-palatal. The tongue tip is normally depressed. Palatal stops are clearly affricated with a sibilant quality in the off-glides.

Retroflex articulations are apical and alveolar or very front palatal. The articulator is always the tip of the tougue, never the blade, and may involve the lower surface, The retroflexion, however, is generally weak.

Dental articulations are generally post-dental and always blade rather than tip. The opposition with the retroflex articulation is as much, at least, in the articulator as it is in the point of articulation.

Labial articulations are bilabial.

There is a clear opposition of aspirate and unaspirate in the voiceless stops. This opposition is maintained in all positions. Voiced stops and nasals are unaspirate only. Aspiration does not occur after voiced consonants within the word, even as a separate phoneme.

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Aspirate stops are treated as unit phonemes, though transcribed by diagraphs. This treatment simplifies the statement of pattern by eliminating all three-member final clusters. Treatment as unit phonemes also simplifies equating phonemics and orthography. No confusion can result from the transcription because of very severe restrictions of distribution of /h/, which never occurs following any consonant within the word.

All stops are lenis in medial position after centralised vowels unless geminated. Geminated stops occur only after centralised vowels and are fortis. This opposition is not maintained after peripheral vowels and in this position the stops tend to be neither markedly lenis nor markedly fortis.

/ph/ is commonly heard as a fricative [f], particularly between vowels and in word-final position. The extent to which this occurs varies from speaker to speaker and from style to style, being commoner in more rapid speech and less formal diction.

In addition to the stops and nasals, there are three pairs of continuants : retroflex and dental, three unmatched consonants, and two semi-vowels.

/s/ is a voiceless, post-dental, blade sibilant. /š/ is a voiceless, alveolar to slightly retroflex tip sibilant. This opposition is fairly strong in all dialects. But in some dialects, the opposition /š/ and /čh/ is weak.

/l/ is a voiced lateral continuant with post-dental blade articulation. /ļ/ is a voiced lateral continuant with apical alveolar or retroflex articulation. This opposition is quite strong in Majhi dialect and minimal pairs are numerous. It is, however, lacking in some dialects.

/r/ is a post-dental trill, generally fairly weakly trilled. /ṛ/ is a retroflex flap, never having more than one constriction (i.e., never trilled). The opposition is strong.
/h/ is a glottal of the type customarily called “voiced h”.
/f/ and /z/ are unpaired fricatives, one labiodental or bilabial voiceless, the other post-dental. They occur only in loan words from Persian or Arabic.

2.3 NOTES ON THE OPPOSITIONAL NETWORK AND NEUTRLISATION

1. The palatal and the velar nasals /ñ/ and /ŋ/ have very low functional load. They are distinctively used only in very careful speech in words like /añāṇā/ ‘child’, /waŋã̃/ ‘bracelets’. Colloquially, these words may be pronounced as /ãjāṇā/ and /wãgã̃/. In the initial position, /ñ/ and /ŋ/ are neutralised with the dental nasal /n/ where only the archiphonemic form of /n/ occurs.

2. The opposition n/ṇ is very strong in medial and final position where there are numerous minimal pairs. However, in the initial position, this opposition is neutralised in favour of the dental nasal /n/.

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3. The retroflex lateral /ļ/ is in strong opposition with the dental /l/ in the medial position though it is not represented in the Gurumukhi orthography where there is no letter for /ļ/. In the initial position, the opposition l/ļ is neutralised in favour of /l/.

4. The oppositional load of ṛ/ḍ is quite strong in medial and final position as in /sāṛī/ 'burnt', /sāḍī/ 'ours'. This opposition is well maintained in the Gurumukhi orthography. This opposition, however, is neutralised in the initial position where only the archiphonemic form /ḍ/ occurs.

5. When the tonal contour begins from the second syllable with low tone, the preceding (onset) consonant is always voiced and in this position the opposition voiceless/voiced is neutralised as in /labà̀/ 'help find', /pajà̀/ 'make run'.

6. /f/ occurs in loan words from Persian or Arabic in the standard speech of educated people and in the written language.

In colloquial unrefined speech, however, /ph/ is substituted, or rather, in colloquial speech, there is no opposition between [f] and [ph], the tendency being to use only [ph] initially and to vacillate between [f] and [ph] in intervocalic and final positions, often with a decided preference for [f]. Careful standard speech maintains the opposition, but somewhat tenuously and generally only in the initial position.

/fɔran/ 'at once', colloquial /phɔran/. Compare /phɔ́ṛī/ 'pole'; also [barf or baraf] 'ice' which is from Persian and might be expected to have /f/ with [lef] 'mattress' which traditionally has /ph/. The two words /barf/ and /leph/ are pronounced with [ph] about equally frequently so that [f] and [ph] cannot be considered in opposition in this position.

7. /z/ too occurs in loan words from Persian or Arabic. In colloquial speech, however, /j/ is usually substituted. Occasionally, a further substitution affecting also words with /j/ in standard speech occurs and [y] is pronounced in initial position. /z/ occurs in many positions, so that it is much less restricted than other consonants discussed here, but is like them in being very infrequent.

/zor/ or /jor/ or /yor/ 'strength'
/mazdūr/ or /majdūr/ 'workman'
/roz/ or /roj/ or /roy/ 'daily'
/mazā/ or /majā/ or /mayā/ 'taste'

8. /h/ occurs commonly only initial. Here it is somewhat less frequent than in Hindi or Urdu. /h/ in medial position is limited to a very few learned words as used in careful, formal pronunciation. These words are either not used at all in colloquial Majhi-in Doabi and Malwai dialects, medial /h/ is oppositional- or altered in unpatterned ways to conform to normal phonological net-work. Older /h/ in other positions has disappeared as a consonant but has altered the tone:

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/hissā/ ‘section’
/hal/ ‘plough’
/kahāṇī/ ‘story’ colloquial /kàṇī

2.4 FINAL CLUSTERS

Final clusters consist of two consonants-never there unless aspirates are analysed as stops plus /h/. They are of the following patterns.

1. /ḷ/ + stop, sibilant, or nasal.

ḷp	kaḷp	‘wail’
ḷt	gaḷt	‘wrong’
ḷṭ	háḷṭ	‘well’
ḷk	paḷk	‘a moment’
ḷd	báḷd	‘bull’
ḷj	gíḷj	‘eagle’
ḷkh	miḷkh	‘estate’
ḷs	pūḷs	‘police’
ḷm	baḷm	‘spear’
ḷṇ	miḷṇ	‘to meet’

2. /r/ + stop, sibilant, lateral, or nasal.

rt	wart	‘fast’
rṭ	čurṭ	‘a drug’
rč	mirč	‘pepper’
rk	ark	‘elbow’
rb	čarb	‘wound’
rd	kard	‘knife’
rj	garj	‘thunder’
rph	barph	‘ice’
rth	arth	‘meaning’
rčh	birčh	‘tree’
rkh	hirkh	‘sorrow’
rs	čars	‘a drug’
rḷ	arḷ	‘bolt’
rm	garm	‘hot’
rn	hirn	‘deer’

3. /ṛ/ + stop.

ṛk	raṛk	‘pain’
ṛb	háṛb	‘bones’
ṛg	khaṛg	‘sword’

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4. Sibilant + stop or nasal.

st	mast	‘intoxicated’
sk	čask	‘pain’
sm	rasm	‘custom’
št	kašṭ	‘hardship’

2.5 MEDIAL CLUSTERS

All of the types of clusters occurring in word-final position also occur in intervocalic position. In addition, almost any pair of consonants can occur, and there are no gross restrictions as to preceding vowels. Most of these are clearly a sequence of a syllable closing consonant and a syllable opening consonant. As such, there is no particular relationship between them. In many instances, there is a morpheme boundary between the two. The following are only suggestive of the types that occur:

ṭd	kuṭdiã̃	‘beat’
ṭhd	uṭhdā	‘standing’
ḷṇ	toḷṇā	‘to weigh’
rd	pardā	‘curtain’
ṛk	laṛkī	‘girl’
mč	čamčā	‘spoon’
nt	šāntī	‘peace’
sk	boskī	‘silk’
ṭṇ	puṭṇā	‘to dig’
zd	mazdūr	‘workman’
šw	wišwāš	‘confidence’

In very slow speech, most of these are often broken by inserting an /a/. They are true clusters, however, in context and at normal speaking speed.

In addition, there are the following types of medial clusters that warrant some special mention.

1. GEMINATES. All consonants occur geminated except /r ḷ ṇ ṛ ñ ŋ h y w/. Geminates are prolonged and more fortis. Geminate aspirates are prolonged and aspirate

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only at the final release. They are phonetically similar to a cluster of an unaspirated stop and the homorganic aspirate. There is, however, no structural reason to consider such geminates as different from others. Note that all geminates are written alike. Geminates occur only after centralised vowels.

sukkā	'dry'	suˈkā	'dry (v.)'
sukkhā	'drug'	suˈkhā	'to suit'
baggā	'brown'	wagā́	'throw'
baččā	'child'	baˈčā	'save'
waččhā	'calf		
sajjā	'right'	saˈjā	'decorate'
haṭṭī	'shop'	haṭī	'stopped'
naṭṭhā	'ran'		
aḍḍī	'separated'		
uttar	'answer'	utar	'descend'
katthā	'katha'	kathā	'story'
saddī	'called'	sadī	'century'
ṭappā	'stanza'	ṭaˈpā	'jump'
japphā	'stronghold'		
lábbā	'found'	labə̀	'find'
čunnī	'scarf'	čuṇī	'picked'
kammī	'worker'	kamī	'weakness'
dillī	'Delhi'	dilī	'heartedly'
kisse	'stories'	kise	'who'

2. CLUSTORS OF STOPS + /ļ/, /r/, or /ṛ/.

These clusters are more tightly knit than the general rule of intervocalic consonant clusters. Even when spoken very slowly, /a/ is never inserted between the consonants.

kļ	mokļā	'loose'
kr	nɔkrī	'service'
dr	pə̀drõ	'september'
jṛ	ājṛī	'shepherd'

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2.6 VOWELS

On the basis of the following oppositions, we establish a network of ten distinctive vowels /ī i e ɛ a ā u o ū ɔ/ in Punjabi:

ī/i

čīr	'cut'	čir	'late'
tīṇā	'three fold'	tinnā	'all three'
nī́	'foundation'	níg	'warmth'
wī́	'twenty'	wíd	'pierce'
pī̀ṛ	'crowd'	pìṛ	'attack'

i/e

tiṛ	'grass'	teṛ	'division'
phir	'then'	pher	'move'
sir	'head'	ser	'seer'
killā	'peg'	kelā	'banana'
síd	'Siddha'	séd	'direction'
pìṛ	'attack'	pèṛ	'struggle'
tìr	'side'	nèr	'darkness'

e/ɛ

ser	'seer'	sɛr	'walk'
ber	'berry'	wɛr	'enmity'
ter	'yours'	tɛr	'swim'
le	'set'	lɛ	'take'
lé	'an animal'	lɛ́	'detach'
pèṛī	'closed'	pɛ̀ṛī	'bad'

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ɛ/ā

pɛr	‘foot’	pār	‘across’
tɛr	‘swim’	tār	‘float’
sɛr	‘walk’	sār	‘condition’
pɛ	‘lay’	pā	‘put’
rɛ́	‘stay’	rā́	‘path’
sɛ́	‘bear’	sā́	‘breath’
wɛ́	‘float’	wā́	‘plough’
pɛ̀	‘fear’	pā̀	‘price’
pɛ̀ṛā	‘bad’	pā̀ṛā	‘rate’

a/ā

čal	‘walk’	čāl	‘condition’
kar	‘do’	kār	‘behaviour’
pal	‘moment’	pāl	‘bring up’
sak	‘skin’	sāk	‘relative’
láb	‘find’	lā́b	‘gain’
pàn	‘break’	pā̀n	‘change’
čàk	‘hesitate’	čā̀k	‘peep’

ā/ɔ

čāl	‘condition	čɔl	‘rice’
tāṛī	‘clapping	tɔṛī	‘pot’
á	‘this	ɔ́	‘that’
rā́	‘path	rɔ́	‘stay’
pā̀	‘price	pɔ̀	‘fear’

o/ɔ

čor	‘thief	čɔr	‘fan’
mor	‘pea-cock	mɔr	‘back’

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lo	‘hot-wind	lɔ	‘set’
poṇī	‘filter	pɔṇī	‘ ¾’
mórī	‘leading	mɔ́rī	‘wound’
ló	‘metal plate	lɔ́	‘detach’

u/o

tur	‘walk	tor	‘send’
muṛ	‘turn (v.)	moṛ	‘turn (n.)’
kuṛī	‘girl	koṛī	‘score’
múḍḍī	‘root	móḍī	‘leading’
súd	‘right	sód	‘correction’
čùk	‘incline	čòk	‘circle (area)’

u/ū

čuk	‘left	čūk	‘cry’
pur	‘town	pūr	‘set’
sur	‘tune	sūr	‘pig’
kúṛ	‘brood	mű́ṛ	‘idiot’

2.7 PHONETICS OF THE VOWELS

	front		back
	unrounded		rounded
high	ī		ū
		centralised	
		i u	
mid	e	a	o
low	ε	ā	ɔ

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The front and central vowels are unrounded. The back vowels, including the centralised back vowels are weakly rounded, /ū/ a bit more than the others. No pair of vowels is distinguished only or even primarily by rounding.

There are three distinctive tongue heights in the peripheral vowels: high, mid and low. There are three positions: front, central and back. Only one of the peripheral vowels has central articulation and it is very low.

The high vowels /ī ū/ are pure (unglided), except before other vowels where there is always a noticeable automatic glide. The mid vowels /e o/ are pure or have very weak final upglides, noticeable before other vowels. By comparison with English /ey ow/, they are noticeably more pure. The low back vowel /ɔ/ is a very low, weakly rounded back vowel, sometimes with weak upglide. It does not occur before other vowels. The low front vowel /ɛ/ is generally very slightly upglided, but the dominant effect is that of a very low front vowel, not greatly different from English /ɛ/ or /ɛh/. The low central vowel /ā/ is generally a pure unglided vowel. It is slightly fronted before dental consonants, slightly backed before velar. The opposition ɛ/ɔ, however, is maintained in all environments.

The centralised vowels /i a u/ are clear than the peripheral vowels /ī e ɛ ā ɔ o ū/ and more or less centralised in articulation. /a/ is only slightly higher than /ā/. /i u/ are slightly lower than /ī ū/. /i/ is slightly less front than /ī/, and /u/ is less back than /ū/.

The centralised vowels are perhaps somewhat shorter in duration than the peripheral, and following, tradition in Indian languages, are sometimes referred to as ‘‘short’’ in opposition to ‘‘long’’. However, the difference in duration is less prominent than that in quality and is less regularly maintained. They are, therefore, not here considered as short. The characteristic feature is clearly their centralisation and the associated laxer articulation. If referred to as short, this can only be considered as a conventional designation with no phonetic significance.

The quality and duration of vowels are affected by the accompanying tone. In general, they are laxer with high tone and tenser with low. They are longer with low tone and shorter with high. These vowel differences, here treated as variants, are actually important cues in tone recognition.

2.8 NOTES ON THE OPPOSITONAL SET-UP AND NEUTRALISATION

The oppositions central/peripheral are neutralised in the word-final positon where only the archiphonemic forms of peripheral vowels occur. In another environment in the pre-tonal syllables (see chapter three on tones) – this neutralisation is realised in the opposite direction and the archiphonemic form of centralised vowels occur as in /čaˈlā/ ‘run’, /paṛà/ ‘teach’, /čuˈkā/ ‘help lift́ etc. Before geminate consonants, the opposition central/peripheral is neutralised in favour of the centralised vowels in /čiṭṭī/ ‘white’, /matthā/ ‘forehead’, /puṭṭhī/ ‘turned́.

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Centralised vowels occur as the first member of diphthongs. Peripheral vowels followed by vowels (always peripheral) fall into different syllables. Excepting the diphthongs, every syllable contains one and only one vowel.

2.9 DIPHTHONGS

The following true diphthongs occur. The two vocalic elements form the nucleus of a single syllable.

ia	wiãg	'trick'
io	pio	'father'
iɔ	liɔ̀ṇā	'to bring'
iā	liā	'took'
uā	guāčā	'lost'
aī	gaī	'went'
ae	raé	'stayed'
aū	raū́	'shall stay'

Alternatively, [i] and [u] may be phonemicised as /y/ and /w/ :*/pyo/ 'father', */gwāčā/ 'lost' However, this would abscure the parallelism of /ia io iɔ iā uā/ with /aī ae aū/ or require the recognition of a third semivowel */x/ to represent the [a]- like elements in [gaī], */gxī/ etc. The latter expedient seems very poorly warranted, particularly since it would give rise to the only consonant in the language occurring only in clusters.

2.10 DISYLLABIC VOWEL SEQUENCES

All sequences of vowels, other than monosyllabic diphthongs, involve two peripheral vowels. There is a very slight to moderate non-syllabic glide between successive vowels. The following combinations have been observed:

	ī	e	ā	ɔ	o	ū
ī		īe			īo	īū
e	eī					
ā	āī	āe			āo	āū
ɔ						
o	oī	oe	oā			oū
ū	ūī	ūe	ūā		ūo	

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Certain systematic restriction are evident. /ɛ ɔ/ do not occur either as first or second member; no sequences of identical vowels occur. The non-occurrence of /īā eā eo eū/ may be accidental.

Examples :

īe	kuṛīe	‘o, girl’
īo	jīo	‘vive !’
īū	nīūṇā	‘to bow’
eī	teī	‘twenty-three’
āī	pāī	‘put’
āe	lāe	‘attached’
āo	lā́o	‘detach’
āū	jā́ū	‘shall go’
oī	loī	‘blanket’
oe	roe	‘wept’
oā	ṭoā	‘pit’
oū	khóū	‘shall snatch’
ūī	sūī	‘needle’
ūe	čű́e	‘rats’
ūā	čű́ā	‘rat’
ūo	tù̀o	‘pull’

2.11 SEMIVOWELS AND GLIDES

/y/ and /w/ are semivowels. They pattern like consonants except in delimiting the domain of nasalisation. /y/ occurs only initially, and largely only before the back vowels, /a/ and /ā/. In some dialects, initial /j/ is replaced by /y/.

/w/ does not occur finally. It is commonest before front vowels, /a/, and /ā/ in initial position. /w/ occurs medially only when either preceded or followed by a front vowel, in the sequences /āwā/ and /awā/ or syllable initial after consonants. It is not geminated and does not occur as first member in clusters.

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The following are examples of /y/ and /w/.

wāḷ	'hair'	yār	'friend'
was	'rain (v.)'	yãtar	'advice'
wɛr	'enmity'		
weḷ	'a ceremony'		
wīr	'brother'		
		yog	'yogā'
dīwā	'lamp'		
mewā	'fruit'		
lawe	'take'		
gə̃wə̃	'cows'		
bə́rwə̃	'twelfth'		

The names of the letters ਯ and ਵ , /yayā/ and /wawwā/, are exceptions to the statements made above, but of little consequence.

[y] and [w]-like glides between consonants and vowels are phonemicised as /i/ and /u/ and form the first elements of diphthongs.

[w]-like glides are automatic between /ū/ and any following vowel and between /ā/ or /o/ and /ū/, /ā/ or /o/, that is, in the sequences /ūī ūe ūā ūo āū āo oū oā/. As these are completely predictable, they are treated as non-phonemic and not indicated in transcription. The [w]-like glide in the sequences [āwā] and [awā] is very noticeably stronger than that in [āwo] or [owā] and is, perhaps arbitrarily, treated as phonemic, i.e., /āwā/ and /awā/ in opposition with /āo/ and /oā/.

[y]-like glides are heard in most sequences of vowel containing a front vowel, /īe īo īū eī āī āe oī oe/. In some of these sequences these are in opposition with [w]-like glides. In all such cases, the [y] glides are more frequent and weaker. The latter are, therefore, interpreted as automatic and non-phonemic, hence unrepresented in the transcription. The [w] glides are interpreted as /w/.

[y]-like glides in the sequence [āyā] are interpreted as /i/, that is, as the first member of a diphthong /iā/.

It must be emphasized that the opposition between /iu/, /yw/ and automatic glides is everywhere weak and open to a variety of phonemic interpretations. That adopted here is not wholly consistent and many others are possible, ranging from treating all audible glides as semivowels /y w/ to treating all as centralised vowels /i u/. Since there are some oppositions, it is necessary to recognize at least some of them in some way in the transcription.

Against every possible interpretation some objections can be raised, and against a few the objections are fairly serious. But no phonemicisation is noticeably superior to all others, so that the choice must be more or less arbitrary and made within very wide limits. The choice made here has one significant, though quite extraneous, advantage. It follows the

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practice of the Gurumukhi alphabet and Punjabi orthography, which here as in most places is quite consistent.

2.12 NASALISED VOWELS

1. All the ten vowels of Punjabi may be oral or nasalized. However, the centralised and peripheral vowels cannot be shown in opposition in the final position since the opposition central/peripheral is neutralised in favour of the peripheral vowels. Distinctive oppositions of other vowels may be shown as follows:

sī	'was'	sĩ̄	'sew'
ākhe	'he may say'	ākhẽ	'you may say'
lɛ	'take (imp.)	lɛ̃	'take (hortative)'
lā	'attach'	lã̄	'string'
sɔ	'hundred'	sɔ̃	'sleep'
čo	'milk'	čõ	'from'
lū	'hot-wind	lũ̄	'hair'

2. In medial position, the centralised nasalised vowels are in opposition with their oral counterparts as in:

čaṭ	'lick'	čãṭ	'mischievous'
ṭiḍ	'an insect'	ṭĩḍ	'bucket'
kúj	'some'	kũj	'shell'

These centralised nasal vowels may be interpreted as automatically nasalised before homorganic nasals and there the three words may be transcribed as /čaṇt/, /ṭiṇḍ/ and kuñj/. However, phonetically, the consonantal release is minimal and it is better to treat it as the automatic variant of the nasalised vowels.

3. Any vowel following a nasal consonant is automatically nasalised and the opposition oral/nasal is neutralised in favour of nasalised vowels. However, word-finally, if the vowel has low tone or mid tone in a disyllabic word, this opposition is neutralised in favour of oral vowels as in:

[nà]	'bathe'	/nà/
[saˈmā]	'spread'	/saˈmā/

4. All types of nasalisation spread over any sequence of vowels not interrupted by a true consonant. /w/ does not limit the domain of nasalisation.

[mãĩnũ]	/maīnū/	'to me'
[jãũgā]	/jãūgā	'will go'

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[kuṛĩã]	/kuṛīã/	‘girls’
[lãwã̃]	/lãwã̃/	‘may take’

2.13 THE STATUS OF /a/

Most occurrences of /a/ are commonly predictable from the pattern of consonants and other vowels. In general, there can be no initial clusters, so initial consonants must be followed by /a/ if no other vowel occurs. Words may end in peripheral vowels, single consonants, or if preceded by a centralised vowel, by certain two-consonant clusters. Between vowels, there may be zero, one, two or three consonants. There consonant clusters are severely restricted but there are no important restrictions of two consonant clusters between vowels. /a/ occurs between any two consonants not otherwise separated by a vowel which cannot under these patterns form a cluster. /a/ does not, in general, occur between any two consonants which might form a cluster.

There are four vowel sequences with /a/. These are /ia aī ae aū/. All of these are diphthongs and might be phonemicised as having a [- a] like semi-vowel rather than a /a/ vowel :

nĩag	‘Nihang’
laī	‘taken’
gae	‘went’
sáū	‘will tolerate’

If the case of the phonemicity of /a/ rested alone on these types of opposition, it would be exceedingly weak. It does not, however. The behaviour of tone would be very difficult to describe without /a/. /a/-like other vowels can be the locus of a tone. Non-tone-bearing /a/ behaves like other toneless vowels in the realisation of tone features.

There are, however, two very significant consequences of the fact that placement of /a/ is so seldom oppositional.

One is that the orthography is workable even though it does not indicate /a/ - - or rather it does not distinguish /a/ from the absence of any vowel. The /a/s that are predictable from word structure can be supplied by the reader accurately and easily. Indeed, it may be preferable to have /a/ unrepresented.

Another is that there is a considerable amount of variation in the pronunciation of /a/ in certain contexts. For example, some of the clusters that occur in the speech of one individual will be broken by /a/ in that of another. This causes little difficulty, since the presence or absence of /a/ is of minimum significance. For example, both /barph/ and /baraph/ can be heard. The rules given here represent a standard Majhi pronunciation which is believed to be very little different in these matters from other standard speech.

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CHAPTER 3

TONES

3.1 On the basis of the following oppositions, we can establish the presence of three significant tonal contours in Punjabi:

High	kóṛā	'lepper'	čā́	'tea'	lā́ī	'detached'
Mid	koṛā	'whip'	čā	'enthusiasm	lāī	'stuck'
Low	kòṛā	'horse'	čà	'peep'	là̀ī	'disgrace'

3.2 PHONETICS OF THE TONES

1. TONE DOMAINS

A Punjabi tone is normally realized over two syllables, its domain. Of these, the most important is the first, or onset syllable, and it is on this syllable that the tone is written in transcription. The onset of the tone can be on either the first or the second syllable of a word. In the latter case, there is a pretonal neutral syllable, one which is outside the domain of the tone of that word, The second part of the tone, the tail, is on a syllable following that having the onset. There are four important possibilities:

(a) The word may contain a syllable following that with the tone onset. In this case, the tail will be realized on this syllable.

(b) The onset-bearing syllable may be final, so that there is no syllable within the word on which the tail can be realised but the following word has a pre-tonal neutral syllable. The tone tail is then realised on the initial syllable of the following word.

(c) The onset bearing syllable is final in the word and the word final in an utterance or an intonation span. In this case, there is a non-phonemic prolongation of the word to allow for the realisation of the tail. This is vocalic release after a consonant or a lengthening of a final vowel. It is a phonetic syllable, but as it is wholly predictable, it is not to be considered phonemically as a syllable.

(d) The onset-bearing final syllable is followed by a word with an initial onset-bearing syllable. In slow speech, a prolongation similar to that of the last case may be heard, though usually somewhat less prominent. With faster speech, this extra length may not be heard at all and the tail is simply not realised.

Any syllable falling wholly outside the domain of a tone − − for example, a pre-tone syllable initial in an utterance, a third syllable in a word with the tone not on the final syllable − −may be considered neutral. It is, of course, not completely uninfluenced by

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surrounding tones, but there is never any contrastive tonal phenomena and the pitch of such syllables needs no attention here.

The effects of a tone tail on otherwise similar syllables within the same word as its onset and in a following word are appreciably different. This difference is one of the more obvious evidences of open transition. Open transition may be considered as weakening the influence of a tone and reducing the differences in realisation of tails of the three opposing tones. Open transitions occur separating the units − − phonological words − − on which the tone onsets occur. This alone is sufficient reason to mark the onset of the tone, rather than the tail. Between every two tone onsets, there is one open transition or phonological word – boundary. Between every open transition, there is one tone onset. The domain of a tone, however, may cross the open transition.

Other phonetic effects of open transition beyond the weakening of tone tails have not been identified. Some boundary, however, is heard in places where this effect is not present, so it is reasonable to assume open transitions. But what is here treated as a phoneme of open transition is at best only weakly oppositional. The clearest oppositions may be only matters of tone placement.

jaddī	'ancestral'	jad dī	'since then'
kuṛīã̃	'girls'	kuṛī ã̃	'I am a girl'

2. TONE ONSETS

The three tones oppose each other on onset syllables in at least three ways: pitch level, pitch contour and duration. Of these, pitch level is often the most conspicuous, but is also most affected by intonational span. The other two features are, therefore, of considerable importance in distinguishing tones. Though the tones are named according to level, this should not be interpreted to mean that other features are non-significant or even necessarily secondary.

High tone /ˊ/, is higher, other things being equal, than the other two. There is a marked up-glide. The syllable is shorter than with either of the other two.

Mid tone is intermediate in pitch between the other two, other things being equal. There is a slight up-glide. The syllable is of intermediate length.

Low tone, /ˋ/, is the lowest tone. The pitch tends to fall slightly, never to rise. The syllable is appreciably prolonged by comparison with the other two.

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3. TONE TAILS

The syllable immediately after a tone onset bears the tone tail. That is to say, its pitch is predictable from the tone and serves in a secondary way as a cue for recognition of the tone. It may be affected by the following tone, but this effect is relatively minor.

The tail of a high tone tends to remain level if the next tone –bearing syllable is relatively high. Otherwise, it may fall very slightly.

The tail of a mid tone generally rises appreciably, though this rise is reduced if the next tone-bearing syllable is relatively low.

The tail of low tone rises even more than that of a mid tone.

If, however, a juncture /+/ intervenes between onset and tail, the pitch contour of the whole tone is generally broken somewhat. In a high pitch, the tail tends to be level, but often at a lower level than the end of the onset. The mid-tone tail generally rises, but may start from a lower level than the end of the onset, particularly if the next tone is relatively low. The tail of a low tone may be level or even slightly falling and often starts from a higher level than the tone at the end of the onset syllable.

Tones of any other syllables have little if any function in signaling tones in the neighbourhood.

3.3 NOTABLE VOCALIC VARIATIONS

There are considerable changes in the duration of the vowels under the influence of the tonal contours. Firstly, the vowels are short, long, longer with high, mid, low tone. For example, if we posit a point [.] for one degree of length we will have the words /kóṛā/, /koṛā/, /kòṛā/ phonetically transcribed as [kó.ṛā], [ko..ṛā], [kò...ṛā].

The other effect on the vowel length depends upon the tonal onset. The onset syllable is always longer than the following syllable. For example, the /ā/ of /čārī/ 'grazed' is longer than the final /ī/ and the /ī/ of /čīrā/ 'cut' is longer than the final /ā/.

Apart from these variations in duration, there are significant changes in the quality of the vowels. Under high tone, the vowels are shorter and higher and under low tone, they are longer and lower. For example, the /ɛ/ of /kɛ́ṇā/ 'to say' is higher than /ɛ/ of /p̀ɛ̀ṇ/ 'sister' and the two words may be phonetically transcribed as [kɛ́ṇā] and [pæ̀…ṇ]. This differentiation is noted mainly in the lower vowels /e ɛ o ɔ/. The neutral vowel /a/ tends towards /ɔ/ under high tone. The usually back vowel /ā/ is quite centralised and tends towards front position under high tone and is very open and back under low tone.

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3.4 NEUTRALISATION

There is a general neutralisation amongst all the voiced and voiceless stops in medial or final position after a nasalised vowel under high tone. Only the voiced stops occur as in /kā́ḍā/ 'bank', /lā́gī/ 'crossed'.

3.5 CONTRASTIVE TONAL CONTOURS

The second characteristic of the Punjabi tonal phonemenon is that it is syntagmatic or contrastive. Pairs like /ˈčukā/ 'completed' and /čuˈkā/ 'help lift' establish its phonemic significance but as Martinet points out[1], it is not just such semantic differences that make this linguistic feature important but these constrastive phonemena are essential to understand the general functioning of the language. In a language with contrastive tonal contours or accent, the onset of the pitch which makes a syllable more prominent than the others is phonologically far more significant than for example the exact phonetic nature of the vowels or the consonants. The pitch on the wrong syllable will hamper intercommunication and will cause far more misunderstanding than is the case with other phonemes.

In Punjabi, any one of the three tonal contours may begin from the first or the second syllable as in the following words:

High	(a)	bɔ́tā	'more'	wā́dū	'extra'
		bā́rlā	'outsider'	sóṇī	'pretty'
	(b)	wagā́	'throw'	sané	'sympathy'
		wiród	'enemy'	kūrā́e	'off the path'
Mid	(a)	toriā	'sent'	moṛī	'turned back'
		sānū	'to us'	kāḷī	'black'
	(b)	čaˈlā	'start'	suˈkā	'dry' (v.)
		wiˈkāiā	'helped sell'	pučˈkāriā	'caressed'
Low	(a)	pàrī	'heavy'	tòbī	'washerman'
		kòṛā	'horse'	čàṛū	'broom'
	(b)	pajà	'make run'	kabrà̀iā	'worried'
		wadà̀ī	'increased'	lãgà	'help cross'

This freedom to have the onset of the tonal contour on the first or the second syllable is only partial. If the first interior vowel is long i.e. any one of the /ī e ɛ ā ū o ɔ/, the tonal contour invariably begins with that vowel. Hence in the words /kabrà̀iā/, /wadà̀ī/, /kūrā́e/, /pučkāriā/ cited above, the onset of the tone is predictable.

The nature of the tone, however, is not dependent on the phonological structure of the word. It must, therefore, be properly marked.

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1. A Martinet, La Linguistique synchronique, Paris, 1965, p. 143

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3.6 NEUTRALISATION

There are some vocalic and consonantal neutralisations due to this contrastive phenomenon. The pre-tonal vowels are always short. The oppositions i/ī, u/ū and a/ā are neutralised in this position.

If the tonal contour that begins with the second syllable is that of low tone, the preceding consonant is always a voiced one. The oppositions p/b, t/d, ṭ/ḍ, č/j, k/g are neutralised as in /nabà̃/ ‘support’, /wadà̃/ ‘increase’, /lãgà̃/ ‘help cross’, etc.

3.7 A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The above analysis of the tonal phenomenon of Punjabi clearly demonstrates that the American term ‘‘contrast’’ is not just another word for the Prague School’s term ‘‘opposition’’, it ignores the basic dichotomy of paradigmatic and syntagmatic features of language. Considering that most of the European languages, including English, have both these phenomena, it is an unfortunate terminological confusion.

3.8 CONTRASTIVE PHENOMENON IN OTHER LANGUAGES

A linguistic situation quite parallel to that of Punjabi is found in Franco-provençal, spoken in the French Alps, where the accent is free when the last syllable is short as in /ˈbera/ ‘drink’, /baˈra/ ‘cap’ and predictable when the last syllable has one of the long vowels. In that case, it is always the last syllable that is accented. This kind of free accent is also found in Russian, Italian and some other languages.

The other type is that of fixed accent. The famous case is that of Czech where the first syllable is always accented. In French, it is just the opposite, It is the last syllable that is generally accented.

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CHAPTER 3-A

THE PHONOLOGY OF PUNJABI AS COMPARED TO THAT OF HINDI AND OTHER ARYAN LANGUAGES

3.A.1 Before making direct comparison of Punjabi with Hindi or any other Indian language, an explanation of fundamental dichotomy between phonetics and phonology is in order.

The basic difference between phonetics and phonology is that in phonetics we deal with the physical manifestations of the sounds and in phonology we are concerned primarily with the system of oppositions and internal relationships which present a unique structure for each language under discussion. As it has already been discussed, very briefly though, in the first chapter on linguistic Sanjam, the physical similarities could only be a point of departure, a structural analysis must follow the preliminary observations. For example, when we say that Arabic has only three distinctive vowels /ī ā ū/ and Punjabi has ten /ī i e ɛ a ā ū u o ɔ/, the phonologists note that the front and back phonetic single domains of Arabic have four significant divisions in Punjabi. The phonologic functions of Arabic and Punjabi ī and ū are not the same.

As social scientists, we are interested only in the functional and oppositional net-work of an element. We can take an example or two from the social contexts. If we want to compare the ‘‘institution’’ of sister in the two societies, Punjabi and English, we would like to know all that a sister expects and claims from her brother and vice-versa in these two cultures and will not be satisfied just by the physical presence of ‘‘sister’’ in Punjab and England. We would like to know all of the oppositional interrelationships which are responsible for the tradition and the legend that has grown around sisterhood in the Punjab and its absence or a new type of relationship in England. Another example can be given from the ‘‘institution’’ of ‘‘son’’ in rural India. The expectations, fears and hopes that surround the only son and their radical transformation when there are two children at home explains very well that to study cultures or languages we must concentrate on the functional and relational aspects of the institution or sounds.

3.A.2 After these preliminary remarks, we may compare the vowel system of Punjabi and Hindi. Both have ten distinctive vowels each but with the development of tones, the vowels of Punjabi have a phonological structure very different from that of Hindi.

First, we may take the phonetic variants. The vowels which serve as onsets of the tones are always longer than those which bear the tails. For example, the /ī/ of /čīrā/ is longer than the /ī/ of /čārī/. Another important variation is due to the nature of the tone itself. Under mid tone, the vowel is longer than that under high tone and is still longer under low tone. This phonetic length is sometimes an important clue for the recognition of the tone, hence its functional significance.

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Second, in the pre-tonal position, the opposition central/peripheral is neutralised in favour of the central vowels. Word finally, this opposition is neutralised but this time in favour of the peripheral vowels.

3.A.3 While the tones have considerably changed the phonologic structure of the vowels of Punjabi, their effect on the consonantal system is even more fundamental. The following tables show only the phonetic difference – the absence or presence of voiced aspirates and generally the phoneticians or the linguists of the distributional school are satisfied with this statement. However, phonologically this difference changes radically the two structures which must be explained as such:

Punjabi					Hindi				
p	t	ṭ	č	k	p	t	ṭ	č	k
b	d	ḍ	j	g	b	d	ḍ	j	g
ph	th	ṭh	čh	kh	ph	th	ṭh	čh	kh
					bh	dh	ḍh	jh	gh

In Punjabi, each articulatory domain has three phonological oppositions whereas Hindi has four. Hence, the phonological function of each corresponding consonant is unique to the language concerned. The cognate words in the two languages with ‘‘bh’’ or any other in the voiced-aspirate show this difference most clearly:

	Hindi		Punjabi
Initial	bhāī	‘brother’	pàī
Medial	lbhāiā	‘helped find’	labàiā
Final	lābh	‘use’	lá́b

In the initial position, the voiced aspirate of Hindi corresponds to the corresponding voiceless stop followed by low tone. Medially, the Punjabi language has a voiced stop followed by low tone and in the final position, we have the voiced stop preceded by high tone. All this shows that the Punjabi /p/ and /b/ not only correspond to the Hindi /p b/ but one of their phonologic functions is the multiple correspondences with /bh/. This is true also of all other consonants of this oppositional network.

There is also an important case of neutralisation of voiceless/voiced stops in the medial position preceded by high tone or followed by low tone. This opposition is neutralised in favour of the voiced stops. With the development of tones in Punjabi, the consonantal and vocalic structure has been fundamentally transformed. The apparent phonetic similarities with Hindi are misleading and do not help us to comprehend the basic relationships.

3.A.4 Whereas the Hindi articulatory domains have four divisions, Sindhi has five as shown in the following table. There is an additional series of the so-called implosives which has changed the consonantal structure though it has no or very little effect on the vocalic system:

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p	t	ṭ	č	k
b	d	ḍ	j	g
ph	th	ṭh	čh	kh
bh	dh	ḍh	jh	gh
b’		ḍ’	j’	g’

Sindhi is the only Aryan language with implosives and Punjabi is the only major language with a developed tonal system. Almost all other languages, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi have voiced aspirates but their functional load is not very high. The oppositions voiced-aspirate/voiced are maintained primarily in the initial position. Medially and finally, minimal pairs are extremely rare and the neutralisation with other stops is quite frequent.

3.A.5 Marathi has another important distinction, that of the affricates. Instead of the usual five points of articulation in the Indo-Aryan languages, Marathi has six as the following table shows. It alters the structural relationships of the dentals, retroflexes and the two points of affrication. The phonological network is no more the same.

p	t	ṭ	č	c˘	k
b	d	ḍ	j	j˘	g
ph	th	ṭh	čh	č˘h	kh
bh	dh	ḍh	jh	j˘h	gh

3.A.6 Whereas Marathi has six distinctive points of articulation, Assamese has only three. This increases considerably the phonetic domain of the single series /t th d dh/ as compared to the four of Marathi and three of other Aryan languages. The following table shows the consonantal network of Assamese.

p	t	k
b	d	g
ph	th	kh
bh	dh	gh

3.A.7 In the vocalic systems, the major difference, apart from those shown for Punjabi and other languages, is that Assamese, Bengali and Gujarati have no central/peripheral opposition. Assamese has the distinction of having the front/back opposition in the low-back vowels ā/ɐ. The vowel tables may be shown as under:

Assamese	Bangali	Oriya	Gujarati	Marathi	Punjabi	Hindi
ī ū	ī ū	ī ū	ī ū	ī ū	ī ū	
e o	e o	e o	e a o		i u	
				e a o	e a o	
ɛ ɔ	ɛ ɔ	ɔ	ɛ ā ɔ		ɛ ɔ	
ā ɐ	ā	ā		ā	ā	

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3.A.8 In Assamese, the opposition e/ɛ is maintained only in the medial position. In other positions, there is a neutralisation in favour of /e/. The opposition o/ɔ is neutralised in favour of /ɔ/ in open syllables when the following syllable has /ū/.

3.A.9 In Bengali, the functional load of the opposition o/ɔ is very low. Generally, a vowel of intermediate quality between [o] and [ɔ] occurs.

All Bengali vowels may occur oral or nasalised but the nasalised /ɔ̃/ is rarely in opposition with /õ/.

3.A.10 Like Bengali and Assamese, Oriya does not generally have distinctive long and short vowels but there are a few minimal pairs where this distinction is phonemically pertinent as in /phere/ 'he returns', /phe : re/ 'again'. The functional load of this opposition is quite low.

3.A.11 In Gujarati, the functional load of the oppositions e/ɛ and o/ɔ is very low and before nasals these oppositions are neutralised in favour of the higher vowels /e/ and /o/. Length of vowels is a distinctive feature in Gujarati and all eight vowels occur as long and short. This opposition is, however, maintained only between two words and is sometimes considered to be conditioned by juncture+. This preposition is not very tenable since all variations of length due to juncture or pitch are not phonologically significant. Another characteristic feature of the vowels of Gujarati is that when they are not preceded by aspiration or aspirated consonants, they are ''murmurred''; after aspiration they are ''clear''. Amongst nasalised vowels, as in many languages having distinctive nasalisation, only the lower vowels /ɛ ɔ/ are nasalized: /ɛ̃ ɔ̃/.

3. A.12 In Marathi, the absence of the oppositions e/ɛ and o/ɔ are to be noted. Some recent borrowings from English have introduced the distinctive vowels /ɛ ɔ/. Otherwise, the lower vowels may be considered only variants in certain specified phonetic environments.

There are some dialects in Marathi which have significant opposition between oral and nasal vowels in a few words. Generally, the standard Marathi has only oral vowels and the nasalized vowels after nasal consonants can be considered as their variants.

As has already been discussed in detail, the phonetic similarities are generally misleading. We must know all the oppositional interrelationships to comprehend a given structure.

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CHAPTER 4

GURUMUKHI ORTHOGRAPHY

4.1 General Notes

The name Gurumukhi, literally from the mouth of the Guru', refers to its use in the Granth Sahib, the sacred literature of the Sikhs. This is a collection of poems mostly in Old Panjabi, but includes pieces in several other languages. The alphabet is also sometimes called ਪੈਂਤੀ /pĕtī/ 'the thirty-five', from the fact that the basic repertoire of consonant and consonant-like symbols numbers thirty-five.

Gurumukhi is written from left to right. The characters are normally aligned below line of writing. The major symbols represent consonants. Vowels other than /a/ are indicated by accessory symbols written around the consonant symbols. When a syllable begins with a vowel, a vowel bearer -- a consonant-like symbol indicating the absence of a consonant -- is used.

There are no separate symbols for tones, but the tones are generally clearly indicated by certain consonant signs. This is the major function of the signs for 'voiced aspirates', for ''h'', and conjunct consonants including ''h''. The use of these letters to indicate tones is often etymologically justified, and indeed tone probably has arisen from older /*h/ and voiced aspirates.

The presentation is in two parts. The first, section 4.2 to 4.10, starts from the alphabet and written words and states reading rules which will lead to the correct pronunciation. The second, sections 4.12 and 4.13, starts from the phonemic system and states writing rules which will lead to correct spellings. Exceptions where either reading or spelling does not follow the stated rules are specified in sections 4.11 and 4.7.6.

There are fewer uncertainties and irregularities in either the reading or the spelling rules than are usual in languages of South Asia. For example, there is only one way to write homorganic nasal clusters, in contrast with the three that are available in Hindi. ਤ ਨ੍ਤ ਨਤ. The result is much less variation in spelling, and less uncertainty as to the correct spelling.

In many places comparison has been made with Devanagari as applied to Hindi. The systems are basically similar, but there are many interesting and significant differences. These are not simply in the form of the letters, but in the structure of the writing system. Most interesting differences are those in the writing of initial vowels, geminate clusters, other clusters, and of course the writing of tone.

The transliterations follow the ''dot-and-dash'' system long traditional in South Asia. This is roughly the system of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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4.2 THE ALPHABET

The thirty-five basic consonant or consonant-like graphs are as follows.

Form	Value	Value with Diacritic	Transliteration		Name	Devanagari Equivalent
ਕ	k		k		kakkā	क
ਖ	kh	kh	kh	*kh*	khakkhā	ख
ਗ	g	g	g	*gh*	gaggā	ग
ਘ	k` ´g g`		gh		kàggā	घ
ਙ	ŋ		ṅ		ŋaŋā	ङ
ਚ	č		č		čaččā	च
ਛ	čh		čh		čhaččhā	छ
ਜ	j	z	j	z	jajjā	ज
ਝ	č` ´ j j `		jh		čàjjā	झ
ਞ	ñ		ń		ñañā	ञ
ਟ	ṭ		ṭ		ṭɛ̃kā	ट
ਠ	ṭh		ṭh		ṭhaṭṭhā	ठ
ਡ	ḍ		ḍ		ḍaḍḍā	ड
ਢ	ṭ` ´ḍ ḍ`		ḍh		ṭàḍḍā	ढ
ਣ	ṇ		ṇ		ṇáṇā	ण
ਤ	t		t		tattā	त
ਥ	th		th		thatthā	थ
ਦ	d		d		daddā	द
ਧ	t` ´d d`		dh		tàddā	ध
ਨ	n		n		nannā	न
ਪ	p		p		pappā	प
ਫ	ph	f	ph	f	phapphā	फ
ਬ	b		b		babbā	ब
ਭ	p` ´b b`		bh		pàbbā	भ
ਮ	m		m		mammā	म
ਯ	y		y		yayā	य
ਰ	r		r		rárā	र
ਲ	l ḷ		l		lallā	ल
ਵ	w		w		wawwā	व
ੜ	ṛ		ṛ		ṛáṛā	ड़
ਸ	s	š	s	š	sassā	स
ਹ	h		h		háhā	ह

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ੳ ਅ ੲ	none	not transliterated	ūṛā ɛṛā īṛī		ੁ ਕ੍ਰ ਇ - ਏ

The basic alphabet is supplemented by the following letters with a dot diacritic. All but the first are used only in unassimilated loan words, mostly from Persian.

ਸ਼	š	ś	਷
ਜ਼	z	z	ज़
ਫ਼	f	f	फ़
ਖ਼	ḳh	*kh*	ख़
ਗ਼	g̣	*gh*	ग़

It should be noted that the names of these letters generally follow a pattern except as phonologic restrictions prevent. Even so, several contravene otherwise well-established restrictions. With some of these, there is some variation in pronunciation. /ṭɛ̆kā/ resolves a conflict of homonyms.

For the multiple values of ‘‘gh jh ḍh dh bh’’, the voiced aspirates’ see 4.7. For the values of ‘‘h’’ see 4.8. For the values of ‘‘l’’ see 4.10. For the use of last three,ੳ ਅ ੲ, see 4.3.

Though distinguished in very careful writing. ਖ‘‘kh’’ and ਗ਼‘‘*gh*’’ are very seldom distinguished in speech, and hence are shown with the same phonemic equivalents.

4.3 VOWELS AND ACCESSORY SIGNS

Vowels other than /a/ are indicated by accessory signs written around (that is, below, above, to the right, and to the left) the consonant signs. When a vowel is not preceded by a consonant it is written with one of the three vowel bearers - - consonant-like signs indicating the absence of a consonant. In the following tabulation, the signs are shown alone, with the proper vowel bearer and with the consonant ਕ ‘‘k’’.

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Form			Name	Value	Transliteration	Devanagari Equivalent
no sign	ਅ	ਕ	muktā	a, nothing	ā, nothing	no sign
◌ਾ	ਆ	ਕਾ	kannā	ā	ā	◌ा
◌ਿ	ਇ	ਕਿ	sìārī	i e ɛ	i	◌ि
◌ੀ	ਈ	ਕੀ	bìārī	ī	ī	◌ी
◌ੁ	ਉ	ਕੁ	ɔ̃kaṛ	u o ɔ	ū	◌ु
◌ੂ	ਊ	ਕੂ	duˈlɛ̃kṛe	ū	ū	◌ू
◌ੇ	ਏ	ਕੇ	lã̃	e	ẽ	◌े
◌ੈ	ਐ	ਕੈ	duˈlāiã̃	ɛ	āī	◌ै
◌ੋ	ਓ	ਕੋ	hóṛā	o	õ	◌ो
◌ੌ	ਔ	ਕੌ	kaˈnɔṛā	ɔ	āū	◌ौ
◌ੰ		ਕੰ	ṭippī	˜ηñṇnm	ṁ	◌ं
◌ं		ਕਾਂ	bĩndī◌ं			
◌ੱ		ਕੱ	addak	gemination, high tone	gemination	conjunct

For the reading of letters without any vowel signs (that is, with/muktā/ see 4.6. For the reading of ◌ਿ /sìārī/ and ◌ੁ /ɔ̃kaṛ/ see 4.9.

The two signs for nasalization, ◌ੰ /ṭippī/ and ◌ं /bĩdī/ , are in complementation. /ṭippī/ is used with /i a u/ and with /ū/ when final. /bĩdī/ is used with /ī e ɛ ā ɔ o/ and with /ū/ when not final. The combinations are as follows:

finalਕੂੰ

ਕੰ ਕਾਂ ਕਿੰ ਕੀਂ ਕੁੰ ਕੂੰ ਕੇਂ ਕੈਂ ਕੋਂ ਕੌਂ

non-finalਕੁੰ

/ṭippī/ and /bĩdī/ represent nasalisation when final, a homorganic nasal when followed by a consonant and as a special case, gemination when followed by nasal consonants. (See 4.11 for certain unpredictable uses of these signs).

˜	ਅਸਾਂ	asã̃ṁ	asã̃	us
	ਤੋਂ	toṁ	tõ	from
	ਤੂੰ	tūṁ	tũ̃	you
n	ਬੰਦਾ	bandā	bãdā	man
ṇ	ਪਿੰਡ	piṇḍ	pĩḍ	village
gemination	ਕੰਨਾ	kaṁnā	kannā	the sign ◌ा
	ਕੰਮੀ	kaṁmī	kammī	labourer

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Gemination is written by the sign ੱ /addak/ above and before the consonant to be doubled. Clusters of unaspirate stop plus homorganic aspirate stop are written by use of /addak/ before the letter for the aspirate. The two geminates /nn/ and /mm/ are written with /ṭippī/ (see above) in many cases, but may occasionally be seen spelled with /addak/.

ੱਕ	kk	ਪੱਕੀ	pakkī	pakkī	ripe
ੱਖ	kkh	ਪੱਖੀ	pakkhī	pakkhī	fan

/addak/ is also written in certain situations where it does not represent gemination. Certain verb forms that have a geminate consonant in most cases are written with /addak/ even when the consonant in one of those which cannot be doubled (see 2.12.2). As the tone must be on the vowel preceding /addak/ these writings serve to indicate the place of tone in the word. Moreover, when 'voiced aspirates' following centralised vowels indicate a previous high-tone, they are written with /addak/. For examples see 4.7. 2-3).

Certain stems are pronounced with geminate consonants when a vowel suffix follows, but with a single final consonant in other instances. (Final geminates do not occur in Majhi). These are commonly written with /addak/ even when without a suffix. In this case, of course, the /addak/ represents nothing in the pronunciation. (See 4.11.2)

ੱਚ	čč	ਸੱਚ	sačč	sač	truth

The signs ੍ and ੍ਰ are modified forms of the consonants ਹ ''h'', ਰ ''r'' and ਵ ''w''. They are written below consonants, much like certain of the signs above. (See 4.5)

4.4 NUMERALS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

Numerals are written in the same manner as in Devanagari or Western ''Arabic'' numeration. The symbols for the ten digits are as follows:

1 ੧	2 ੨	3 ੩	4 ੪	5 ੫
6 ੬	7 ੭	8 ੮	9 ੯	10 ੧੦

The sign: is used to mark abbreviations. Abbreviation is not very extensively used. The following are examples:

ਪ੍ਰੋ:	for	ਪ੍ਰੋਫੇਸਰ	Professor	parophesar
ਡਾ:	for	ਡਾਕਟਰ	Doctor	ḍākṭer

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There are only two marks of punctuation in older Gurumukhi. One,।,is used to mark the end of major units, sentences, in prose. The other,॥is used to mark the end of verses in poetry. The two are not used together in the same passage.

In modern printed books, punctuation of the English type is used, except that। is used instead of the period. There is no standardisation of practice other than that provided by the English models.

4.5 CONJUNCT CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS

Only three types of conjunct consonants are used. In all bases a modified form of the second consonant is subjoined to the unaltered form of the first.

In the first type,ੵa form of ਹ ‘‘h’’, is subjoined. The pronunciation of the consonant, as a consonant, is not changed in any way, but the conjunct indicates a tonal distinction (see 4.5). The following are common combinations:

Base	Form	Transliteration	Value	Devanagri Equivalent	Example		
ੜ	ੜ੍	ṛh	r` ´r	ढ़	ਪੜ੍ਹ	páṛ	study
ਨ	ਨ੍	nh	n` ´n	न्ह	ਨ੍ਹੇਰ	nèr	darkness
ਲ	ਲ੍	lh	l` ´l	ल्ह	ਲ੍ਹਾ	lå̀	stir
ਮ	ਮ੍	mh	m` ´m	म्ह	ਮ੍ਹੈਂਸ	mȅs	buffalo

Others of this type are less frequent and generally restricted to the representation of colloquial or dialect forms in dialogue.

The following are representative :

ਡ	ਡ੍	ḍh	ḍ`	ड्ह	ਡ੍ਹਾ	ḍå̀	give water
ਬ	ਬ੍	bh	b`	ब्ह	ਬ੍ਹਾ	bå̀	make sit

In the second type of conjunct,ੑ a form of ਰ ‘r’’, is subjoined to certain consonants, most commonly stops. These occur only in tatsamas, mostly learned or religious terms. In initial position they are pronounced with /a/ between the consonants. A few educated people, speaking very formally and carefully, occasionally pronounce these as initial clusters. The following are some examples :

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ਪ੍ਰ	pr	par	ਸ਼੍ਰ	ਪ੍ਰੀਤ	paˈrīt	love
ਕ੍ਰ	kr	kar	ਕ੍ਰਮ	kaˈram	action
ਸ਼੍	šr	šar	ਸ਼੍ਰਮ	šaˈram	effort

In the third type of conjunct a ੍ਵ form of ਵ ‘‘w’’ is subjoined. Only the following word is at all usual, though others are found in older literature, particularly when highly Sanskritised.

ਸ੍ਵ	sw	saw	LLLLLLLLLLLस्व	ਸ੍ਵਰ	saˈwar

‘tune’

Clusters with homorganic nasals are written as sequences of nasalized vowel and consonant. (See 4.3)

Geminate clusters are written by the sign ੱ /addak/ written over and just before the letter to be doubled.

Other clusters are written by two separate consonant signs without any special indication that they form a cluster. Whether sequences of consonant symbols without indication of intervening vowels are to be read as clusters or with /a/ can only be determined on the basis of general patterns for whole words. The rules are given in 4.6.

4.6 UNWRITTEN VOWELS

The vowel /a/ is not indicated by any sign of its own. Final consonants and first members of clusters are written by the consonant letter alone. A vowelless consonant letter may, therefore, represent either a consonant alone or a consonant plus a following /a/. The correct reading can be determined only from the total word pattern. The following rules will cover most cases.

The rules overlap but do not conflict. No attempt has been made to reduce them to the shortest possible set. Rather every rule that is thought to be helpful has been included. They should, however, be applied in the order given. In particular, rule 14 must be applied after all others that are relevant.

For the presentation of this section only, a different type of transliteration will be used. This will write - at every place where a decision must be made between /a/ and no vowel, that is, after the transliteration of every vowelless letter. Moreover /addak/ (gemination) will be transliterated by ’’ before the doubled consonant.

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1. All initial vowelless letters are to be read with following /a/. This is a consequence of the fact that there are no initial clusters in Panjabi.

ਚਰੀ	č-rī	čarī	‘grazed’
ਪਰੀ	p-rī	parī	‘fairy’
ਕਣੀ	k-ṇī	kaṇi	‘drop’

2. All final vowelless letters are to be read without /a/. This is a consequence of the fact that disyllabic and longer words never end in /i a u/.

ਚੁਕ	čuk-	čuk	‘lift’
ਯਾਰ	yar-	yār	‘friend’
ਸਚ	s-č-	sač	‘truth’ (also rule 1)
ਰਤ	r-t-	rat	‘blood’ (also rule 1)
ਲਕੀਰ	l-kīr	laˈkīr	‘line’ (also rule 1)
ਫਕੀਰ	ph-kīr-	phaˈkīr	‘fakir’

Rule 1 takes precedence over rule 2 in the two instances of words spelled with a single vowelless letter.

ਕ	k-	ka	‘about’
ਚ	č-	ča	‘in’

Rule 2 applies even when a final vowelless letter is written with /addak/. In this instance, the /addak/ is to be disregarded. (See 4.11.4)

ਕੱਚ	kačč	kač	‘glass’

3. ‘Voiced aspirates’ written with /addak/ and without a vowel, can be read as forming a cluster with the following consonant, and the /addak/ disregarded. In this position /addak/ merely signals that the ‘voiced aspirate’ indicates a preceding tone. (See 4.7.2-3)

ਬੱਝਦਾ	bajjhdā	/bájdā/	‘being tied’

4. All letters with /addak/, the mark of gemination, must be read with a vowel and all letters preceding a letter with /addak/ must be read with a vowel. If none is written, /a/ is supplied. This is a consequence of the fact that there are no clusters of three or more consonants.

ਗੱਚਕ	g-"č-k-	gaččak	‘a candy’	/a/ supplied on both sides.
ਵੱਟਕ	w-"ṭ-k-	waṭṭak	‘sale’	
ਪੁੱਤਰ	pu"t-r-	puttar	‘son’	/a/ supplied after

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/addak/

ਕੁੱਛੜ	ku"čhḍ-	kuččhaṛ	‘lap’	
ਪੱਕੀ	p-"kī	pakkī	‘ripe’	/a/ supplied before /addak/
ਕੱਕੀ	k-"kī	kakkī	‘brown’	

5. The vowel-bearer ਅ, indicating the lack of a consonant, must always be read with a vowel /a/ if none is written, except when final after ◌ਾ (see 4.13),

ਅਸੀਂ	A-siṁ	asĩ	‘we’
ਅੰਦਰ	A-ṁd-r	ãdar	‘inside’
ਵਿਅੰਗ	wiA-ṁg-	wiãg	‘trick’

6. A vowelless letter before any of the vowel-bearers, ੳ ਅ ੲ,must be read with /a/. This is a consequence of the use of the vowel-bearers to write vowels that are not after consonants (see 4.3).

ਲਏ	l-Ae	lae	‘took’

7. Any initial conjunct consonant with ‘‘r’’ as subjoined element must be read with a following /a/. Further, /a/ must be inserted before the /r/.

ਕ੍ਰਮ	kr-m-	kaˈram	‘order’

Note the following spelling would have a different pronunciation:

ਕਰਮ	k-r-m	karm	(see rule 9)

8. Initial ਹ‘‘h’’ must be followed by a vowel like all other initial consonants. Medial or final ਹ‘‘h’’, however, is not pronounced as a consonant, and must be overlooked in placing /a/. When medial ਹ ‘‘h’’ bears a vowel - - ◌ਿ or ◌ੁ - - and follows a vowelless letter, the whole is to be read as /ɛ́/ or /ɔ́/ following the consonant represented by the vowelless letter. For examples see 4.9.

9. Two final vowelless letters are read with /a/ between if either is preceded by an indicator of nasalisation (◌ੰ/ṭippī/ or ◌ं/bĩdī). This is a consequence of the fact that these marks before a consonant represent a homorganic nasal. If /a/ were not read, the result would be a three-member final consonant cluster. There are no such in Punjabi.

ਸੰਗਮ	s-ṁg-m-	sãgam	union	(also rules 1 and 2)
ਮੰਦਰ	m-ṁd-r-	mãdar	temple	
ਅੰਦਰ	A-ṁd-r-	ãdar	inside	(also rules 2 and 4)

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10. Two final vowelless letters are read as a cluster if (1) they form a permitted final cluster and (2) they are preceded by a vowelless letter or a letter with ਿ ‘‘i ’’ or ੁ ‘‘u ’’. This rule is a consequence of the fact that most final consonants are found only after centralised vowels.

ਵਰਤ	w-r-t	wart	fast	(also rule 1 and 2)
ਕਲਪ	k-l-p	kalp	wail	
ਮਿਰਚ	mir-č-	mirč	pepper	(also rule 2)
ਚੁਰਟ	čur-ṭ-	čurṭ	a drug	
ਪਰਸਤ	p-r-s-t	paˈrast	worshipper	

11. Two final vowelless letters are read with /a/ between if they form an unpermitted consonant cluster.

ਪਦਮ	p-d-m	padam	a flower	(also rules 1 and 2)
ਖਤਮ	kh-t-m	khatam	finished	
ਸਾਗਰ	sāg-r-	sāgar	ocean	
ਸ਼ਸਤਰ	ś-s-t-r-	šastar	arms	

12. Two final vowelless letters are read with /a/ between if they are preceded by a peripheral vowel, except when the two final vowelless letters are one of the few clusters permitted in this position /st št šṭ/.

ਪਾਲਕ	pāl-k-	pālak	spinach	(also rule 2)
ਚਾਦਰ	čād-r-	čādar	sheet	
ਕਾਲਖ	kāl-kh-	kālakh	blackness	
ਆਖਰ	Aākh-r-	ākhar	after all	

13. Two final vowelless letters are read as a cluster, even after peripheral vowels, if they are one of the following sequences /st št šṭ/.

ਪੋਸਤ	pos-t-	post	a drug
ਗੋਸ਼ਤ	goś-t-	gošt	meat
ਗੋਸ਼ਟ	goś-t-	gošṭ	dialogue

14. Any vowelless letter in any position bearing /ṭippī/ must be read with a following /a/.

ਚਲੰਤ	č-l-ṁt-	čaˈlãt	unstable	(also rules 1 and 2)
ਪੰਦਰਾਂ	p-ṁd-raṁ	pãdrã̃	fifteen	
ਗੰਦਲਾਂ	g-ṁd-lam	gãdlã̃	sprouts	
ਚੰਡਾਲ	čṁḍāl	čãˈḍāl	rouge	

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15. Any remaining vowelless letter will be read with /a/ if the following letter is the first member of a cluster, and without /a/ if the following letter has vowel after it, either written or a /a/ supplied by any of the above rules.

ਪਰਸਤ	p-r-s-t		par-st	(by rules 1,2,10)
		paˈrast	worshiper	(/a/ before a cluster)
ਸ਼ਸਤਰ	š-s-t-ŕ		šas-tar	(by rules 1,2,11)
		šastar	arms	(no vowel before /ta/)
ਦੋਸਤੀ	dos-tī	dostī	friendship	
ਜੋਤਸ਼ੀ	jot-śī	jotšī	palmist	
ਸੜਕਾਂ	s-ṛ-kāṁ	saṛkÃ̃	roads	
ਪਰਵਾਰ	p-r-wār-	parwār	family	(also rules 1 and 2)
ਕਰਤਾਰ	k-r-tār-	kartār	creator	

Clusters resulting from this rule consist of one syllable final consonant and one syllable initial consonant. For this reason there is no significant restriction on the possible sequences.

4.7 VOICED ASPIRATES

The five ‘voiced aspirates’ of the alphabet, ਘ ਝ ਢ ਧ ਭ ‘‘gh jh ḍh dh bh’’, so called because they occupy the same place in the alphabetic order as Devanagari घ झ ढ ध भ and are cognate to the latter, and the various conjuncts with ਹ‘‘h’’ have parallel reading rules. The consonantal values of ‘‘gh jh ḍh dh bh’’ are /k c ṭ t p/ when initial and /g j ḍ d b/ when medial or final. The consonantal values of ਨ੍ ਲ੍ ੜ੍ nh lh ṛh etc. are always that of the base consonant, /n l ṛ/. In addition, all these mark low or high tone on an adjacent vowel. The following rules give the tonal readings.

1. In initial position in the word, the ‘voiced aspirates’ indicate low tone on the first syllable. See below for examples.

ਘ	gh	ਘੋੜਾ	ghoṛā	kòṛā	horse
ਝ	jh	ਝਾੜੂ	jhāṛū	čà̀ṛū	broom
ਢ	ḍhol	ਢੋਲ	ḍhol	ṭòl	drum
ਧ	dh	ਧੋਬੀ	dhobī	tòbī	washerman
ਭ	bh	ਭਾਈ	bhāī	pà̀ī	brother
ਨ੍	nh	ਨ੍ਹਾ	nhā	nà̀	bathe
ਲ੍	lh	ਲ੍ਹਾਈ	lhāī	là̀ī	grace
ਮ੍	mh	ਮ੍ਹੀਨ	mhīn	mı̀n	delicate

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2. In final position, the ‘voiced aspirates’ indicate high tone on the preceding vowel (the last syllable). These are written with ੱ/addak/ if following a centralised vowel, except that ‘‘nh’’ and ‘‘mh’’ are written with ੰ/ṭippī/.

ਘ	gh	ਮੱਘ	maggh	mág	pitcher
ਝ	jh	ਮੱਝ	majjh	máj	buffalo
ਢ	ḍh	ਮੁੱਢ	muḍḍh	múḍ	roots
ਧ	dh	ਦੁੱਧ	duddh	dúd	milk
ਭ	bh	ਲਾਭ	lābh	lắb	profit
ਨ੍ਹ	nh	ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	bannh	bắn	bind
ਮ੍ਹ	mh	ਥੰਮ੍ਹ	thammh	thắm	pillar

3. In medial position and marked with ੱ /addak/ (or ੰ/ṭippī/ in the case of ਨ੍ਹ‘‘nh’’ and ਮ੍ਹ ‘‘mh’’ the ‘voiced’ aspirates’ indicate high tone on the preceding vowel.

ਘ	gh	ਬੱਘੀ	bagghī	bággī	buggy
ਝ	jh	ਬੱਝੀ	bajjhī	bájjī	tied
ਢ	ḍh	ਵੱਢੀ	waḍḍhī	wáḍḍī	cut
ਧ	dh	ਬੱਧੀ	baddhī	báddī	tied
ਭ	bh	ਲੱਭੀ	labbhī	lábbī	found
ਨ੍ਹ	nh	ਅੱਨ੍ਹਾ	annhā	ánnā	blind man
ਮ੍ਹ	mh				
ਲ੍ਹ	lh	ਕੱਲ੍ਹੀ	kallhī	kállī	alone

When the ‘voiced aspirate’ with /addak/ or /ṭippī/ has no vowel, and is followed by a consonant with a vowel, there is no gemination even with consonants which can be pronounced double.

ਘ	gh	ਮੱਘਦਾ	magghdā	mágdā	lit
ਝ	jh	ਬੁੱਝਦਾ	bujjhdā	bújdā	extinguishing
ਢ	ḍh	ਵੱਢਦਾ	waḍḍhḍā	wáḍdā	cutting
ਧ	dh	ਵੱਧਦਾ	waddhdā	wáddā	increasing
ਭ	bh	ਲੱਭਦਾ	labbhdā	lábdā	finding
ਨ੍ਹ	nh	ਬੱਨ੍ਹਦਾ	bannhdā	bándā	binding

4. In medial position after a peripheral vowel and with only a single vowel following, the ‘voiced aspirates’ indicate high tone on the preceding vowel (the penultimate and usually the first syllable).

ਘ	gh	ਮਾਘੀ	māghī	mắgī	Maghi
ਝ	jh	ਮਾਝੀ	māj̱hī	mắjī	Majhi dialect
ਢ	ḍh	ਵਾਢੀ	wāḍhī	wáḍī	harvest

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ਧ	dh	ਵਾਧੂ	wādhū	wádū	extra
ਭ	bh	ਨਾਭਾ	nābhā	nábā	Nabha

5. In medial positon after a centralised vowel and followed by a peripheral vowel, and not marked with ੱ /addak/ (or ੰ/ṭippī/), the 'voiced aspirates' indicate low tone on the following vowel. In one type this is usually the penultimate syllable:

ਘ	gh	ਪਘਾਰਨਾ	paghārnā	pagà̀rnā	to melt
ਝ	jh	ਸੁਝਾਇਆ	sujhāiā	sujà̀iā	pointed out
ਢ	ḍh	ਵਢਾਇਆ	waḍhāiā	waḍà̀iā	cut
ਧ	dh	ਸਿਧਾਇਆ	sidhāiā	sidà̀iā	disciplined
ਭ	bh	ਲਭਾਇਆ	labhāiā	labà̀iā	helped find
ਨ੍ਹ	nh	ਬਨ੍ਹਾਇਆ	banhāiā	banà̀iā	had fastened

In disyllabic words, the tone comes on the ultimate syllable. When this ends in /ā/ an ਅ (a vowel bearer) is sometimes added.

ਰ੍ਹ	rh	ਵਰ੍ਹਾਅ	warhā	warà̀	make rain

4.8 THE LETTER ਹ

The letter ਹ ''h'' represents the phoneme /h/ when initial.

ਹਰੀ	harī	harī	green
ਹੁਣੇ	huṇe	huṇe	now
ਹੌਲ਼ੀ	hauḷī	hɔḷī	slowly

Non-initial ਹ ''h'' normally has no consonantal value, but represents high tone / ´/ on the preceding vowel. In this use, ਹ ''h'' follows peripheral vowels only.

ਤੀਹ	tīh	tī́	thirty
ਰਾਹ	rāh	rā́	path
ਤੀਹਰਾ	tīhrā	tī́rā	threefold
ਕਾਹਰਾ	kāhrā	kā́rā	onefold
ਚਾਹਿਆ	čāhiā	čā́iā	desired
ਰਿਹਾ	rihā	riā́	stayed

In a few learned words, medial ਹ ''h'' is pronounced /h/ in formal speech by educated speakers, though for most this is somewhat artificial. In general, the words concerned are learned and not used at all in colloquial speech.

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ਅਹਿੰਸਾ	ahiṁsā	ahinsā	ahimsā
ਕਹਾਣੀ	kahāṇī	kahāṇī	story

The last has a colloquial equivalent /kàṇī/. This is homophonous with ‘‘ghānī’’ ‘mud’. All such learned words with /a/ before ਹ and with a peripheral vowel following are pronounced colloquially with low tone.

The letter ਹ ‘‘h’’ in a secondary form is used to form conjuncts (see 4.5). These are used to indicate tone. See 4.7 for the reading rules.

4.9 THE VOWELS ਿ and ੁ

The vowel signs ਿ /sìārī/ and ੁ /ɔ̃kaṛ/ are normally /i/ and /u/, but may have other values when in the vicinity of ਹ ‘‘h’’. The rules are exactly parallel for the two:

Before ਹ ‘‘h’’ these represent /é/ and /ó/. The ਹ ‘‘h’’, as always in medial position (see 5.8), has no consonantal value but indicates high tone:

ਕੁਹੜਾ	kuhṛā	kóṛā	leper
ਕਿਹੜਾ	kihṛā	kéṛā	who?

When written with ਹ ‘‘h’’ and following a vowelless letter, these represent /ɛ́/ and /ɔ́/ pronounced immediately after the previous letter.

ਵਹੁਟੀ	whuṭī	wɔ́ṭī	bride
ਕਹਿਣਾ	khiṇā	kɛ́ṇā	to say

When written finally with the vowel bearer, ੁ /ɔ̃kaṛ/ represents /o/.

ਲਿਉ	liū	lio	take
ਪਿਉ	piū	pio	father

In all other places, the normal reading for /sìārī/ and /ɔ̃kaṛ/ are /i/ and /u/.

ਕੁੱਤਾ	kuttā	kuttā	dog
ਕਿਸ	kis	kis	who?
ਹੁਣੇ	huṇe	huṇe	now
ਹਿੱਸਾ	hissā	hissā	section

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4.10 THE LETTER ਲ

Gurumukhi has only one lateral ਲ ‘‘l ’’. This is used to spell both /l/ and /ḷ/. A proposal has been made to distinguish ਲ਼ ‘‘ḷ’’ from ਲ ‘‘l’’ by adding a dot diacritic like that used to distinguish ਸ਼ ‘‘š’’ from ਸ ‘‘s’’. This however has met with no acceptance, and is seldom if ever used.

/ḷ/ does not occur initially. ਲ ‘‘l’’ in initial position is therefore always /l/. /ḷ/ is much more frequent than /l/ in clusters, so that these occurrences can generally be read /ḷ/. Beyond these suggestions, no rules can be given to distinguish. There are some homographic minimal pairs:

ਪਾਲੀ	pālī	pālī	name of a girl
ਪਾ਼ਲੀ	pālī	pāḷī	brought up
ਖਾਲੀ	khālī	khālī	empty
ਖਾ਼ਲੀ	khālī	khāḷī	stream

4.11 IRREGULAR AND MORPHOPHONEMIC WRITINGS

The overwhelming majority of words are spelled strictly according to the rules and can be read with no difficulty. There are, however, three classes of writings that deserve comment: regular but unusual spellings, irregular spellings, and morphophonemic spellings.

1. Regular but unusual spellings are those which follow extensions of the regular rules of cover rather infrequent patterns. Words with initial voiced stops followed by low tone are very rare if they exist at all in the standard speech. There are, however, some such words in some dialects. In novels and short stories such words occasionally appear in dialogue. They are written by extending the anology of words like /nà/ ‘bathe’, where the low tone is represented by a ‘‘h’’ subjoined to the ‘‘n’’. The same mark is subjoined to ‘‘ḍ’’ and ‘‘b’’ in the following. (The ‘voiced aspirates’ cannot be used as in initial position they are pronounced as voiceless). (See 4.5)

ਡ੍ਹਾ	ḍ.hā	ḍà	to water cattle
ਬ੍ਹਾ	b.hā	bà	to make sit

2. Irregular spellings are ones in which the tone is not indicated according to the rules. There are a few words with initial ‘voiced aspirates’, which by the rules (see 4.7) should have low tone on the first syllable, but which are usually pronounced with low tone on the second syllable. These are presumably the result of change since the establishment of the spellings.

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ਧਰੇਕ	dharek	tarèk	a kind of tree
ਭੰਡਾਰ	bhamḍār	pāḍàr	treasury

Another group of words have high tone, but this is not written. Most often these end in clusters beginning with /ḷ/. They would be expected to have a ‘‘h’’ to mark high tone (see 4.8).

ਬਲ਼ਦ	bald	báḷd	bull
ਗਿਲ਼ਜ	gilj	gílj	eagle

3. In a few instances, non-phonemic nasalisation is written with /ṭippī/ or /bĩdī/. Two very common and important words are so written:

ਮੈਂ	maiṁ	mɛ̃	I
ਨੂੰ	nūṁ	nũ	to

Morever, /nū/ retains this spelling when it loses its tone and becomes a suffix on two pronouns:

ਮੈਨੂੰ	mainūṁ	mainū	to me
ਸਾਨੂੰ	sānūṁ	sānū	to us

The suffix /ã̃/ of the oblique plural is always written with /bĩdī/ When suffixed to a stem ending in a nasal, the nasalisation becomes predictable and need not be written. However, the /bĩdī/ always remains. In a few cases this has the incidental effect of distinguishing homophones:

ਕੰਨਾਂ	kaṁnāṁ	kannā	ears
ਕੰਨਾ	kannā	kannā	the sign

There are a few instances where the /bĩdī/ seems to be written arbitrarily to distinguish homophones:

ਨਾਂ	nāṁ	nā	name
ਨਾ	nā	nā	no
ਸਮਾਂ	samāṁs	samā	time [ˈsamā]
ਸਮਾ	samā	saˈmā	spread [saˈmā]

In the latter case there is a phonetic difference, in that nasalisation is not automatic in final syllables bearing mid tone in disyllables.

4. Some monosyllables are written as though having final gemination. Some western dialects seem to pronounce double consonants in this position, and the spellings may have originated here. In any case, these forms do have geminates before suffixes:

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ਹੱਥ	hatth	hath	hand	cf.	hatthã̃	hands
ਚੰਨ	čaṁn	čan	moon		čannã̃	moons

5. Morphophonemic spellings are ones in which the stem is spelled as in the base form even in inflectional forms in which it is subject to change. A number of verbal forms are regularly so written. Stems ending in /ā/ under some circumstances alter this to /ɔ/ before suffixes (see 5.25). The /ā/ is written in the regular way as ◌ਾ but the change is indicated by adding ੁ ‘‘u’’, As the sequence /ā u/ does not occur, there is no difficulty in reading.

ਆਉਣਾ	āuṇā	ɔṇā	to come	from/ā-/+/-ṇā/
ਪਾਉਣਾ	pāuṇā	pɔṇā	to put	/pā-/+/-ṇā/
ਪੌਣਾ	pauṇā	pɔṇā	three quarters	

Certain vowel changes are not indicated at all. In certain forms /æ/ becomes /aī/.

ਲੈਣਾ	lainā	laiṇā	take	from /lɛ/

This also occurs in a few pronoun forms:

ਮੈਨੂੰ	mainū	mainū	to me	from /mɛ/

In certain forms /ɔ/ becomes /a ū/. These are generally forms in which the base form has /ā/ which becomes /ɔ/ as described above.

ਪਾਉਂਦਾ	pāuṁdā	paũ̃dā	~ pɔ̃dā	putting	cf.	pɔṇā to put

6. Tone is also spelled morphophonemically in many verb forms. That is, the stem is spelled the same even when tonal changes occur. For example, many verbs have high tone in the imperative and future, but not in the base form. Thus high tone is indicated.

ਜਾਣਾ	jāṇā	jāṇā	to go
ਜਾਉ	jāo	já́o	go !
ਜਾਉਂਗਾ	jāuṁgā	já̃́ugā	shall go

4.12 SPELLINGS FOR CONSONANTS

1. The following consonants have one spelling apiece:

kh	ਖ	kh	khal	ਖਲ	skin
ch	ਛ	čh	čhaḍ	ਛਡ	leave
ṭh	ਠ	ṭh	ṭhap	ਠਪ	cover
th	ਥ	th	thal	ਥਲ	desert
ph	ਫ	ph	phal	ਫਲ	fruit
l	ਲ	l	lakh	ਲਖ	lakh
ḷ	ਲ	l	paḷ	ਪਲ	moment
r	ਰ	r	rat	ਰਤ	blood

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ṛ	ੜ	ṛ	raṛk	ਰੜਕ	pain
s	ਸ	s	sat	ਸਤ	seven
š	ਸ਼	ś	šer	ਸ਼ੇਰ	lion
z	ਜ਼	z	zar	ਜ਼ਰ	wealth
f	ਫ਼	f	fan	ਫ਼ਨ	art
y	ਯ	y	yād	ਯਾਦ	memory
w	ਵ	w	wal	ਵਲ	toward
h	ਹ	h	hal	ਹਲ	plough

2. The following consonants have two spellings apiece, one when initial before a low tone, the other in all other positions.

k	ਕ	k	kar	ਕਰ	do
	ਘ	gh	kàṛ	ਘੜ	chisel
č	ਚ	č	čab	ਚਬ	bite
	ਝ	jh	čàṛ	ਝੜ	cloudy
ṭ	ਟ	ṭ	ṭap	ਟਪ	jump
	ਢ	ḍh	ṭàk	ਢਕ	cover
t	ਤ	t	tan	ਤਨ	body
	ਧ	dh	tàr	ਧਰ	put
p	ਪ	p	par	ਪਰ	but
	ਭ	bh	pàr	ਭਰ	fill

3.The following consonants have two spellings apiece, one when following a high tone or preceding a low tone (not in the syllable), and one in all other environments. Examples are given of all three environments:

g	ਗ	g	goḷī	ਗੋਲ਼ੀ	bullet
	ਘ	gh	mā́gī	ਮਾਘੀ	first day of Magh
			pãgā̀r	ਪੰਘਾਰ	melting
j	ਜ	j	jaldī	ਜਲਦੀ	quick
	ਝ	jh	mā́jī	ਮਾਝੀ	Majhi
			majɛ̀l	ਮਝੈਲ	Majhail
ḍ	ਡ	ḍ	ḍar	ਡਰ	fear
	ਢ	ḍh	móḍī	ਮੋਢੀ	leading
			waḍà̀iā	ਵਢਾਇਆ	had cut
d	ਦ	d	din	ਦਿਨ	day
	ਧ	dh	wā́dū	ਵਾਧੂ	extra
			wadà̀iā	ਵਧਾਇਆ	increased

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b	ਬ	b	bol	ਬੋਲ	speak
	ਭ	bh	lā́b	ਲਾਭ	profit
			labȁiā	ਲਭਾਇਆ	helped find

4. The nasal consonants are all written by nasalisation diacritic when before a homorganic consonant, and by a letter when in any other position. The homorganic nasal is written: ◌ੰ/ṭippī/ when following /i a u/, ◌ं /bīdī/ when following /ī e æ ã ɔ o ū/. The letters for the nasals are:

ŋ	ਙ	ṅ	kaŋaṅ	ਕੰਙਣ	bracelet
ñ	ਞ	ṅ	añāṇā	ਅੰਞਾਣਾ	child
ṇ	ਣ	ṇ	maṇ	ਮਣ	maund
n	ਨ	n	nap	ਨਪ	press
m	ਮ	m	man	ਮਨ	mind

5 Geminate consonants are written with ◌ੱ /addak/, except /nn/ and /mm/ which are written with ◌ੰ /ṭippī/. See 4.3 for examples.

6 In careful writing when a word with /kh/ or /g/ is known to come from Urdu or Persian, a dot may be added, giving ਖ਼ and ਗ਼ . Most people omit this diacritic.

gaˈrīb	ਗਰੀਬ	or	ਗ਼ਰੀਬ	poor
kharˈgoš	ਖਰਗੋਸ਼	or	ਖ਼ਰਗੋਸ਼	rabbit

4.13 SPELLINGS FOR VOWELS AND TONES

The following vowels have only one writing:

ī	◌ੀ
ā	◌ਾ
ū	◌ੂ
i	◌ਿ
u	◌ੁ

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The following vowels have two or three writings. A ‘‘normal’’ spelling is used when the vowel has mid or low tone, or when the tone is elsewhere in the word. When accompanied by high tone special spellings are used; these are given below.

e	ੇ
o	ੋ
ɛ	ੈ
ɔ	ੌ

In addition, /o/ with any tone is spelled ੁ when final and following a vowel.

ਕਰਾਇਉ	karāiu	kaˈrāio	get done

The vowel /a/ is never written.

The above signs are attached to consonant letters. When the vowel does not follow a consonant, a vowel bearer is used. The combinations are as follows:

ī	ਈ									ū	ਊ
		i	ਇ				u	ਉ			
e	ਏ			a	ਅ					o	ਓ
ɛ	ਐ			ā	ਆ					ɔ	ਅੌ

Mid tone is never given any special indication.

Low tone is indicated by a special spelling for the preceding consonant. If that consonant is /n m l ṛ r/ (or rarely others) a conjunct consonant with ‘‘h’’ added to the normal spelling for the consonant is used. If that consonant is /k c ṭ t p/ and initial, or if it is /g j ḍ d b/ and non-initial a voiced aspirate’ ‘‘gh jh ḍh dh bh ’’ is used.

ਨ੍ਹੇਰਾ	nherā	nèrā	darkness
ਭਾਈ	bhāī	pàˆī	brother
ਬੁਝਾਇਆ	bujhāiā	bujàiā	extinguished

High tone is indicated in most cases by a special spelling for the following consonant or by the addition of ਹ‘‘h’’. The following devices are used:

If the accompanying vowel is centralised and the following consonant is /g j ḍ d b/, the appropriate ‘voiced aspirate’ with /addak/ is used:

ਮੱਝ	majjh	máj	buffalo

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If the accompanying vowel is centralised and the following consonant is /n m l ṛ r/, the appropriate conjunct with ‘‘h’’ is used and this is written with /addak/:

ਬੱਨ੍ਹ	bannh	bán	tie

If the accompanying vowel is /ā ī ū/ and is followed by a consonant, vowelless ਹ ‘‘h’’ is added:

ਬਾਹਰ	bāhr	bā́r	outside

If the accompanying vowel is /ā ī ū/ and followed by a vowel, ਹ ‘‘h’’ is written bearing that following vowel.

ਬਾਹੀ	bāhī	bā́ī	side

If the accompanying vowel is /e o ɛ ɔ/, special devices described below are used.

The combinations of high tone and /e o ɛ ɔ/ are written as follows. The spellings are given as combined with ਕ ‘‘k’’.

ké	ਕਿਹ
kó	ਕੁਹ
kɛ́	ਕਹਿ
kɔ́	ਕਹੁ

All the combinations of vowels and tones are illustrated in the following chart. Further illustrations can be seen in sections 4.7 and 4.8.

A disyllabic word ending in /ā/ and having tone on the last syllable may be spelled with an added final ਅ. This has no value except to indicate that the tone is final. The nature of the tone must be indicated as above.

The following are examples of all vowels and tones in monosyllables:

mid tone		low tone		high tone	
ਤਰ	tar	ਧਰ	tàr	ਚੜ੍ਹ	čáṛ
	swim		put		climb
ਕਿਸ	kis	ਧਿਰ	tìr	ਵਿਨ੍ਹ	wín
	who		help		pierce
ਪੁਲ	puḷ	ਝੁਰ	čùr	ਮੁੱਢ	múḍ
	bridge		gloomy		root
ਚੀਰ	čīr	ਭੀੜ	pīṛ	ਪੀਹਣ	pī́ṇ
	cut		crowd		grind

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ਫੇਰ	pher	ਭੇੜ	pèṛ	ਤਿਹਰ	tér
	again		collision		third time
ਲੈਣ	lɛṇ	ਭੈਣ	pèṇ	ਲਹਿਰ	lér
	take		sister		wave
ਮਾਰ	mār	ਭਾਰ	pȁr	ਵਾਹਣ	wā́ṇ
	kill		weight		ploughed field
ਪੌਣ	pɔṇ	ਧੌਣ	tɔ̀ṇ	ਲਾਹੁਣ	lɔ́ṇ
	wind		neck		take off
ਚੋਰ	čor	ਢੋਲ	ṭòḷ	ਛੁਹਰ	čhór
	thief		drum		boy
ਰੂਪ	rūp	ਧੂੜ	tū̀ṛ	ਮੂਹੜ	mū́ṛ
	beauty		dust		fool

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PART II

CHAPTER 5

PARTS OF SPEECH AND INFLECTION

5.1 WORD CLASSES

Punjabi words may be inflected or uninflected. Some show characteristic derivational formations. The description of the syntax requires recognition of a number of syntactically defined word classes, correlating more or less with those which must be recognised morphologically. A system of word classes is set up here to provide a basis both for morphology and syntax. The classes are as follows:

1. **Nouns:** generally inflected for number and case and with assigned gender.
There are three sub-classes correlating with the two genders, on the basis of inflectional paradigms. There is a cross-cutting sub-class which has in addition to the direct and oblique, an ablative and a locative. Another sub-class has a locative but not necessarily an ablative (see 5.4). Other sub-classes seem to be semantic rather than grammatical.

2. **Pronouns:** a small closed class inflected for case, but following paradigms
different from those of nouns, and not the same for all members of the class. Pronouns have assigned number, but gender is variable (see 5.5).

3. **Adjectives:** two major sub-classes (see 5.8).
3a. Black Adjectives : inflected for number, gender and case on a pattern similar to that of certain nouns. We describe this type of inflection in 5.8, but it should be noted that certain words inflected on this pattern are excluded from this class for syntactic reasons.
3b. Red Adjectives : uninflected, but assignable to this class by syntactic distribution.

4. **Numerals :** syntactically adjectives, but conveniently treated separately because of their characteristic derivational patterns, and their ordering. Five sub-classes (see 5.9).

5. **Postpositions :** a fairly clearly marked syntactic group with three sub-classes (see 5.12).
5a. /ਦਾ/‘of ’ inflected like adjectives and forming phrases of adjectival function.
5b. /ਨੂੰਤੋਂ ,ਨੇ ,/ –following nouns directly, marking case-like relations, and not used with certain pronouns.
5c. All others– optionally following/ ਦੇ/ and patterning in many respects like locative or ablative nouns. This group shows an inflection with two forms.

6. **Verbal Auxiliaries** – two sets inflected for person and number, syntactic peculiarities. (see 5.14).

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7. **Verbs** − a large class with a fairly extensive and very characteristic inflectional system. There are numerous syntactic sub-classes (see 5.15 ff.)

8. **Adverbs** − an open class of uninflected words modifying verb phrases. (see 5.6 and 5.13)

9. **Particles** − here used as a cover term for a considerable number of small classes of uninflected words. These will be described in the chapters on syntax, generally without assignment to classes.

5.2 Morphophonemic Adjustments − Vowels

Sequences of vowels are treated as follows. The same rules apply if one or both vowels are nasalized, and the resulting sequence, either with or without/ ਵ/ is nasalized through out (see 2.9)

1. In the following, two forms are in free variation in at least some forms of Punjabi. In general, the sequences without /ਵ/ are commoner in informal or colloquial language; those with /ਵ/ are preferred in formal and standard language. These, however, are merely statements of preferences, and both forms can be heard in most types of discourse.

ਆ+ਆ >ਆਵਾ~ਆ

ਪਾ– + – ਆਂਗੇ >ਪਾਵਾਂਗੇ ~ ਪਾਂਗੇ ‘We will put’

ਗਾਂ + – ਆਂ > ਗਾਂ ਵਾਂ ~ ਗਾਂ ‘cows’

ਓ + ਓ > ਓਵੇ ~ਓ

ਹੋ – + – ਓ ਗੇ > ਹੋਵੇਗੇ ~ ਹੋ ਗੇ ‘you will be’

ਏ + ਏ > ਏਵੇ ~ ਏ

ਦੇ – + – ਏਗਾ > ਦੇਵੇਗਾ ~ ਦੇ ਗਾ ‘he will give’

ਅ + ਓ +> ਅਵੋ ~ ਅੌ

ਲ – + –ਓ ਗੇ > ਲਵੋਗੇ > ਲੌ ਗੇ ‘you will take’

2. In the following, the form with /ਵ/ is predominant at all levels of discourse described here:

ਅ + ਆ > ਅਵਾ

ਲ – + – ਆਂ ਗੇ > ਲਵਾਂਗੇ ‘we will take’

ਅ + ਏ > ਅਵੇ

ਲੇ – + – ਏ ਗਾ > ਲਵੇਗਾ ‘he will take’

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3. In the following, the form without /ਵ/ is more usual in the standard language, but forms with /ਵ/ do occur:

ਆ + ਏ > ਆਏ ~ ਆਵੇ

ਪਾ – + – ਏ ਗਾ > ਪਾਏਗਾ ~ ਪਾਵੇਗਾ 'he will put'

4. In the following two combinations, rearticulated vowels /ī̄ī/ and /ū̄ū/ occur in some instances. The pronunciations are learned and quite formal, and restricted to the verb forms cited. Elsewhere, and colloquially in these verbs, single vowels without any unusual length prevail:

ਈ + ਈ > ਈ ~ ਈਈ

ਪੀ – + ਈਦਾ > ਪੀ ਦਾ ~ ਪੀਈਦਾ 'may drink'

ਊ + ਊ > ਊ ~ ਊਊ

ਧੂ – + ਉਂਗਾ > ਧੂੰ ਗਾ ~ ਧੂਉਂਗਾ 'I will drag'

5. Other sequences of vowels are merely juxtaposed without morphophonemic adjustment. The following are a few examples:

ਪਾ – + – ਉਂ ਗਾ > ਪਾਉਂਗਾ 'I will put'

ਨ੍ਹਾ + – ਓ > ਨ੍ਹਾਓ 'bath'

ਮਾਲੀ + – ਆ > ਮਾਲੀਆ 'O gardner'

6. There are various changes in final stem vowels of certain verbs. For these see 5.17 ff.

7. When causative extensions are added to verb stems, the stem vowels become /a/, and in disyllabic stems the second vowel drops. See 5.15.

5.3 Morphophonemic Adjustments − Consonants

There are a few morphophonemic adjustments involving consonants that are fully automatic:

1. Stem final geminates must be simplified if standing word final. This occurs in both nouns and verbs:

ਹੱਥ –	+	×		ਹੱਥ	'hand'
	+	–	ਆਂ	ਹੱਥਾਂ	'hands'
ਕੁੱਟ –	+	×		ਕੁੱਟ	'beat' (Imperative)
	+	–	ਇਆ	ਕੁੱਟਿਆ	'beat' (Past)

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2. If a suffix consisting of a single consonant is added to a stem ending in a consonant other than r ṛ l ḷ/,a /a/ is added. /a/ is predictable between most final consonants on purely phonologic grounds (See 2.15).

ਕੁੱਟ – + – ਣ > ਕੁੱਟਣ ‘to beat’

This applies in verbs, but there are no such suffixes in the inflection of other classes.

Other morphophonemic adjustments are not so fully automatic. Conditionings and other details are, therefore, best described in the places where they occur. But it may be useful to summarize the types that occur.

3. With certain suffixes, the second vowel in disyllabic stems may be dropped. If the preceding consonant is geminate, this must be simplified.

ਸੜਕ	+	-	ਆਂ >	ਸੜਕਾਂ	‘roads’
ਕੁੱਕੜ	+	-	ਆਂ >	ਕੁੱਕੜਾਂ	‘chickens’

4. If a suffix with initial consonant is added to a stem ending in a geminate either the geminate must be simplified or a /a/ introduced. Both occur in verbal inflection:

ਦਿਸ	– + –	ਦਾ >	ਦਿਸਦਾ	‘appearing’
	+ –	ਣਾ >	ਦਿਸਣਾ	‘to be seen’

5. /ਣ/ becomes /ਨ/ after /ਰ/.

ਕਰ – + – ਣਾ > ਕਰਨਾ ‘to do’

5.4 NOUNS

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two numbers, singular and plural. There are five cases. Two of these, direct and oblique, apply to all nouns. The vocative is common only with animate nouns, though it is occasionally used with some others. The ablative occurs only in the singular of a small class of nouns. The same class of nouns has locative case in the plural. Another small class has a locative case in the singular. In place of the ablative plural, most locative singulars, and all comparable uses of words having neither of these cases, phrases are used consisting of the oblique followed by a postposition (See 6.10). For the use of the cases, see 6.3.

Nouns are assigned to one of two genders, masculine and feminine (see 5.7). Masculine nouns are inflected following paradigms I and II. All those ending in the nominative singular in /-ਆ/ follow paradigm I, those with other endings, either consonants or vowels, follow paradigm II. All feminines, including those ending in consonants and in vowels, follow paradigm III. The following tabulations illustrate these paradigms together with any common morphophonemic adjustments:

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Paradigm I (Masculines in /-ਆ/)

		‘boy’	‘house’	‘manner’
Singular	direct	ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਕੋਠਾ	ਜਿਹਾ
	oblique	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਕੋਠੇ	ਜਿਹੇ
	vocative	ਮੁੰਡਿਆ	–	–
	ablative	–	ਕੋਠਿਓਂ	–
Plural	direct	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਕੋਠੇ	ਜਿਹੇ
	oblique	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	ਕੋਠਿਆਂ	ਜਿਹਾਂ
	vocative	ਮੁੰਡਿਓ	–	–
	locative	–	ਕੋਠੀਂ	–

Paradigm II (Masculines not in /-ਆ/)

		‘washerman’	‘village’‘	chicken’	‘hand’
Singular	direct	ਧੋਬੀ	ਪਿੰਡ	ਕੁੱਕੜ	ਹੱਥ
	oblique	ਧੋਬੀ	ਪਿੰਡ	ਕੁੱਕੜ	ਹੱਥ
	vocative	ਧੋਬੀਆ	ਪਿੰਡਾ	ਕੁੱਕੜ	–
	ablative	–	ਪਿੰਡੋਂ	–	–
Plural	direct	ਧੋਬੀ	ਪਿੰਡ	ਕੁੱਕੜ	ਹੱਥ
	oblique	ਧੋਬੀਆਂ	ਪਿੰਡਾਂ	ਕੁੱਕੜਾਂ	ਹੱਥਾਂ
	vocative	ਧੋਬੀਓ	–	ਕੁੱਕੜ	–
	locative	–	ਪਿੰਡੀਂ	–	–

Paradigm III (Feminines)

		‘girl’	‘cow’	‘night’	‘road’
Singular	direct	ਕੁੜੀ	ਗਾਂ	ਰਾਤ	ਸੜਕ
	oblique	ਕੁੜੀ	ਗਾਂ	ਰਾਤ	ਸੜਕ
	vocative	ਕੁੜੀਏ	ਗਾਂਏਂ	–	–
	ablative	–	–	–	ਸੜਕੋਂ
Plural	direct	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਗਾਵਾਂ~ਗਾਂ	ਰਾਤਾਂ	ਸੜਕਾਂ
	oblique	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਗਾਵਾਂ~ਗਾਂ	ਰਾਤਾਂ	ਸੜਕਾਂ
	vocative	ਕੁੜੀਓ	ਗਾਓਂ	–	–
	locative	–	–	–	ਸੜਕੀਂ

Disyllabic words with /a/ in the second syllable drop this /a/ before all suffixes. In addition, if the medial consonant is geminate it becomes single when the /a/ is dropped. /ਕੁੱਕੜ/ ‘chicken’ and /ਸੜਕ/ ‘road’ illustrate these changes. Successions of identical vowels, others than /ਈ/, may either have a /ਵ/ between or merge into one. /ਗਾਵਾਂ/ ~ /ਗਾਂ/ illustrates this. In general, the forms with the /ਵ/ are standard and formal; those without are more colloquial or informal. At many levels there is free variation. Successive vowels, with or without an intervening /ਵ/ are either all nasalized or none. Only one indication of

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nasalization, therefore, need be written in any forms of /ਗਾਂ/, but all vowels are nasalized. The stem of /ਹੱਥ/ is /ਹਥ-/. Final geminates must simplify when not followed by a vowel initial suffix. /ਇ/ before /ਆ/ becomes /ਏ/ before other suffixes and drops before /ਇ/.

Certain conspicuous contrasts with Hindi should be pointed out. All Punjabi feminines are inflected alike. There is no contrast such as that between मेज़ मेजें लड़की लड़कियां and चिड़िया चिड़ियां All Punjabi masculines ending in /- ਆ/are alike. There is no distinction such as that between लड़का, लड़के and राजा, राजे. Hindi lacks inflectionally marked ablative and locative forms.

The following are the most commonly used nouns in the small class with ablative singular and locative plural:

ਪਿੰਡੋਂ	'from the village'	ਪਿੰਡੀਂ	'in the villages'
ਸ਼ਹਿਰੋਂ	'from the city'	ਸ਼ਹਿਰੀਂ	'in the cities'
ਘਰੋਂ	'from the house'	ਘਰੀਂ	'in the houses'
ਖੇਤੋਂ	'from the field'	ਖੇਤੀਂ	'in the fields'

A few others are possible, but somewhat less usual:

ਕੋਠਿਓਂ	'from the house'	ਕੋਠੀਂ	'in the houses'
ਦੇਸੋਂ	'from the country'	ਦੇਸੀਂ	'in the countries'

One common noun only and some place names have a locative singular. The latter include only place names ending in /- ਆ/:

ਘਰੇ	'in the house'
ਪਟਿਆਲੇ	'in Patiala' from Patiala

5.5 PRONOUNS

Pronouns are inflected for number and case. There are two types with totally different paradigms. The first type including the first and second person pronouns, singular and plural, has forms for direct, oblique, dative ablative and genitive. The latter is an adjective and is further inflected following the usual adjective paradigm (See 5.8). The second type, including the third person pronouns, has in addition a locative and an instrumental. The paradigms are as follows:

	First Sing.	First Plur.	Second Sing.	Second Plur.
direct	ਮੈਂ	ਅਸੀਂ	ਤੂੰ	ਤੁਸੀਂ
oblique	ਮੈਂ	ਅਸਾਂ	ਤੂੰ	ਤੁਸਾਂ
dative	ਮੈਨੂੰ	ਸਾਨੂੰ	ਤੈਨੂੰ	ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ
ablative	ਮੈਥੋਂ	ਸਾਥੋਂ	ਤੈਥੋਂ	ਤੁਹਾਥੋਂ
genitive	m.s.d.	ਮੇਰਾ	ਸਾਡਾ	ਤੇਰਾ	ਤੁਹਾਡਾ
	m.s.o.	ਮੇਰੇ	ਸਾਡੇ	ਤੇਰੇ	ਤੁਹਾਡੇ
	m.s.d.	ਮੇਰੇ	ਸਾਡੇ	ਤੇਰੇ	ਤੁਹਾਡੇ

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m.p.o.	ਮੇਰਿਆਂ	ਸਾਡਿਆਂ	ਤੇਰਿਆਂ	ਤੁਹਾਡਿਆਂ
f. s. d.	ਮੇਰੀ	ਸਾਡੀ	ਤੇਰੀ	ਤੁਹਾਡੀ
f. s. o.	ਮੇਰੀ	ਸਾਡੀ	ਤੇਰੀ	ਤੁਹਾਡੀ
f. p. d.	ਮੇਰੀਆਂ	ਸਾਡੀਆਂ	ਤੇਰੀਆਂ	ਤੁਹਾਡੀਆਂ
f. p. o.	ਮੇਰੀਆਂ	ਸਾਡੀਆਂ	ਤੇਰੀਆਂ	ਤੁਹਾਡੀਆਂ

There is no instrumental case dinstinct from the direct, nor is the instrumental postposition used with these. Thus /ਮੈਂ ਕਿਹਾ/ 'I said' Compare Hindi मै ने कहा.

/ਅਪਣਾ/ or /ਆਪਣਾ/ is the usual reflexive genitive pronoun. It is used for all persons, singular and plural. It means that the possesser is identical with the subject of the sentence. It is inflected for number, gender and case like all adjectives and like the genitives above. Compare Hindi अपना.

/ਆਪਾਂ ਨੂੰ/ 'to us' is colloquially used in place of /ਸਾਨੂੰ/, /ਤੁਸੀਂ/ and related forms are commonly used as a pronoun of respect.

/ਆਪ/ 'you' is occasionally used in Punjabi following Hindi, Urdu patterns as a pronoun of respect. The much usual respectful form is /ਤੁਸੀਂ/, /ਆਪ/ is uninflected.

There are two sets of deictic or third person pronouns. These make no distinction of gender, nor of number in the direct case. /ਉਹ/ is the commoner, and is generally used when no contrast is intended. When they do contrast, /ਇਹ/ refers to the nearer, and /ਉਹ/ to the more remote. The inflection is as follows:

	Singular		Plural	
	remote	near	remote	near
direct	ਉਹ	ਇਹ	ਉਹ	ਇਹ
oblique	ਉਹ	ਇਹ	ਉਹਨਾਂ	ਇਹਨਾਂ
dative	ਉਹਨੂੰ	ਇਹਨੂੰ	(ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ)	(ਇਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ)
instrumental	ਉਹਨੇ~ ਓਨ	ਇਹਨੇ~ਏਨ	(ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ)	(ਇਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ)
genitive masc.				
sing. dir.	ਉਹਦਾ	ਇਹਦਾ	(ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦਾ)	(ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਆਦਿ)
obl.	ਉਹਦੇ	ਇਹਦੇ		
Plur. dir.	ਉਹਦੇ	ਇਹਦੇ		
obl.	ਉਹਦਿਆਂ	ਇਹਦਿਆਂ		
Fem.Sing.dir.	ਉਹਦੀ	ਇਹਦੀ		
obl.	ਉਹਦੀ	ਇਹਦੀ		
Plur. dir.	ਉਹਦੀਆਂ	ਇਹਦੀਆਂ		
obl.	ਉਹਦੀਆਂ	ਇਹਦੀਆਂ		

The instrumental and genitive singulars appear to be the simple form plus the postpositions /ਨੂੰ/ /ਨੇ/ and /ਦਾ/, except that the latter do not have tones. On the basis of the assumption that every word in Punjabi has a tone, these are here treated as suffixes. The existence of alternative short forms for the instrumental is confirmation. In the plural the postpositions are used in the regular way with the oblique and do bear tones.

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Interrogative and relative pronouns are inflected for case, but do not mark number. The forms are as follows:

	Interrogative		relative
	Personal	Impersonal	
direct	ਕੌਣ	ਕੀ	ਜੋ
oblique	–	ਕਿਸ	–	ਜਿਸ
dative	–	–	–	–
instrumental	–	ਕਿਨ੍ਹੇ~ ਕਿਨ		ਜਿਨ੍ਹੇ~ ਜਿਨ
genitive	–	ਕੀਹਦਾ		ਜੀਹਦਾ
		ਕੀਹਦੇ ਆਦਿ		ਜੀਹਦੇ ਆਦਿ

The uses of these forms are described at various places in the sections on syntax.

5.6 CORRELATIVES

There are a number of pronouns and adverbs which form a correlative paradigm. Sets 1 and 2 are further inflected, and have been described in 5.5. Each set may contain four items:
a near deictic, characterized by a front vowel, ਏ orਇ
a remote deictic, characterized by a back vowel, ਓorਉ
a relative, characterized by an initial ਜ
an interrogative, characterized by an initial ਕ
The forms are as follows:

Pronominal	1.	ਇਹ	ਓਹ	ਜੋ	ਕੀ
		‘this’	‘that’	‘what’	‘what’
	2.	–	–	–	ਕੌਣ
					‘who?’
	3.	–	–	ਜਿਹੜਾ	ਕਿਹੜਾ
				‘who’	‘who?’
Adverbial	4.	ਏਥੇ	ਉੱਥੇ	ਜਿੱਥੇ	ਕਿੱਥੇ
		‘here’	‘there’	‘where’	‘where?’
	5.	ਏਥੋਂ	ਉੱਥੋਂ	ਜਿੱਥੋਂ	ਕਿੱਥੋਂ
		‘hence’	‘thence’	‘whence’	‘whence?’
	6.	ਏਧਰ	ਓਧਰ	ਜਿੱਧਰ	ਕਿੱਧਰ
		‘hither’	‘thither’	‘whither’	‘whither?’
	7.	ਏਵੇਂ	ਓਵੇਂ	ਜਿਵੇਂ	ਕਿਵੇਂ
		‘this way’	‘that way’	‘which way’	‘how?’
	8.	ਇੰਜ	ਉਂਜ		ਕਿੰਜ
		‘this way’	‘that way’	–	‘how?’

There are no adjectival correlatives comparable to Hindi ऐसा ‘this kind of’ etc. Instead, a phrase is used combining set 1 with an emphatic suffix and the noun ਜਿਹਾ (plural ਜਿਹੇ):

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ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ‘this kind of ’ਓਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ‘that kind of ’ਕਿਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ‘what kind of ’.

Note that ਓਹ ਜਿਹਾ is for ਓਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ , and is spelled accondingly.

5.7 **Gender**

There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Every Punjabi noun is assigned to one of these. The assignment is often entirely arbitrary, predictable neither from form nor meaning. However, most nouns ending in ਆ are masculine. A majority of nouns ending in ਈ are feminine, but there are some frequently used ones ending in ਈ which are masculine. The latter are commonly terms referring to professions or employment whenever there are two contrasting nouns from the same stem, there is a gender contrast as follows:

	Masculines		Feminines	
1.	Masculine in ਆ, feminine in ਈ :			
	ਲੜਕਾ	‘boy’	ਲੜਕੀ	‘girl’
	ਚਾਚਾ	‘uncle’	ਚਾਚੀ	‘uncle's wife’
	ਘੋੜਾ	‘horse’	ਘੋੜੀ	‘mare’
	ਸੋਟਾ	‘big stick’	ਸੋਟੀ	‘small stick’
2.	Masculine in ਈ , feminine in /ਅਣ/:			
	ਧੋਬੀ	‘washerman’	ਧੋਬਣ	‘washerman's wife’
	ਮਾਲੀ	‘gardener’	ਮਾਲਣ	‘gardener's wife’
3.	Masculine in a Consonant, feminine in ਈ :			
	ਦਾਸ	‘servant’	ਦਾਸੀ	‘female servant’
	ਤਰਖਾਣ	‘carpenter’	ਤਰਖਾਣੀ	‘carpenter's wife’
	ਹਿਰਨ	‘deer’	ਹਿਰਨੀ	‘doe’
	ਥਾਲ	‘large tray’	ਥਾਲੀ	‘small tray’
	ਪਹਾੜ	‘mountain’	ਪਹਾੜੀ	‘hill’
4.	Masculine in a consonant, feminine in ਈ ਨੀ ਣੀ after /a/ :			
	ਨਟ	‘acrobat’	ਨਟਣੀ	‘acrobat's wife’
	ਸਾਧ	‘Sadhu’	ਸਾਧਣੀ	‘female Sadhu’
	ਉਠ	‘camel’	ਉਠਣੀ	‘female camel’
	ਸ਼ੇਰ	‘lion’	ਸ਼ੇਰਨੀ	‘lioness’
5.	Masculine in a consonant; feminine in ਆਣੀ.			
	ਜੇਠ	‘hunband's elder brother	ਜਠਾਣੀ	‘husband's elder brother's ‘wife’
	ਨੌਕਰ	‘servant’	ਨੌਕਰਾਣੀ	‘female servant’

Note that ਅ in the second syllable drops before a suffix.

Note change of stem vowel before ਆਣੀ.

The following semantic relations exist between paired masculine and feminine nouns:

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1. With a very few animate nouns, the masculine refers specifically to a female:

ਲੜਕਾ ‘boy’ ਲੜਕੀ ‘girl’

2. With many animate nouns, especially terms for animals, the masculine refers to the species in general, the feminine specifically to a female:

ਬਾਂਦਰ ‘monkey’ ਬਾਂਦਰੀ ‘female monkey’

3. With a very few animate nouns, the feminine is the general term referring to the species, the masculine is specific and refers to a male:

ਬਿੱਲਾ ‘male cat’ ਬਿੱਲੀ ‘cat’

4. With caste or occupational and most kinship terms, the masculine refers to the stated relation, the feminine to the wife of such a person:

ਤੇਲੀ ‘oilman’ ਤੇਲਣ ‘oilman's wife’
ਮਾਮਾ ‘mother's brother’ ਮਾਮੀ ‘mother's brother's wife’

5. With very few kinship terms the feminine refers to a stated relation, and the masculine is the husband thereof.

ਫੁੱਫਾ ‘father's sister's husband’ ਫੁੱਫੀ ‘father's sister’

6. With most inanimate nouns, the masculine refers to a larger type, the feminine to a smaller.

ਕਟੋਰਾ ‘large bowl’ ਕਟੋਰੀ ‘small bowl’

7. With a few inanimate nouns, the pair refer to associated objects of different kinds, the masculine reffering to the main object, and the feminine to the accessory.

ਤਾਲਾ ‘lock’ ਤਾਲੀ ‘key’

5.8 ADJECTIVES

There are two classes of adjectives in Punjabi, inflected or ‘‘black adjectives’’, and uninflected or ‘‘red adjectives’’, These names are based on typical representatives of the two groups ਕਾਲਾ ‘black’ and ਲਾਲ ‘red’. Professor Prabodh Pandit has pointed out that these meanings are carried by inflected and uninflected adjectives in most Indic languages, whether the vowels are cognate or not, and has suggested these terms.

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Black adjectives are inflected precisely like nouns of paradigms I and III of the noun, except that vocative, ablative, and locative forms are not used. Note that adjectives do not differ from nouns in the feminine plural as do Hindi or Urdu adjectives.

		Masculine	Feminine
Singular	direct	ਕਾਲਾ	ਕਾਲੀ
	oblique	ਕਾਲੇ	ਕਾਲੀ
Plural	direct	ਕਾਲੇ	ਕਾਲੀਆਂ
	oblique	ਕਾਲਿਆਂ	ਕਾਲੀਆਂ

A few black adjectives have nasalized vowels. These follow the same paradigm, but show nasalization in all forms:

ਬਾਹਰਵਾਂ ਬਾਹਰਵੀਂ etc. 'twelfth'.

Various verb forms, one postposition ਦਾ, genitive pronouns, and certain numerals are inflected in the same manner.

Cardinal numerals are adjectives. Those from ਦੋ 'two' onward are inflected for case but not for gender: ਦਸ ਆਦਮੀ 'ten men', ਦਸਾਂ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਦਾ 'of ten men', ਦਸ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ 'ten girls',ਦਸਾਂ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ ਦਾ ' of ten girls'.

5.9 NUMERALS

There are five sets of numerals. Only two sets extend to higher numbers. The five sets are as follows:

Cardinals		Ordinals							
ਇਕ	'one'	ਪਹਿਲਾ	'first'	ਕਾਹਰਾ	'one fold'				
ਦੋ	'two'	ਦੂਜਾ	'second'	ਦੁਹਰਾ	'two fold'	ਦੁਣਾ	double	ਦੋਏਂ	'both'
ਤਿੰਨ	'three'	ਤੀਜਾ	'third'	ਤੀਹਰਾ	'three fold'	ਤੀਣਾ	triple	ਤਿੰਨੇ	'all three'
ਚਾਰ	'four'	ਚੌਥਾ	'fourth'	ਚੌਹਰਾ	'four fold'	ਚੌਣਾ	quadruple	ਚਾਰੇ	'all four'
ਪੰਜ	'five'	ਪੰਜਵਾਂ	'fifth'					ਪੰਜੇ	'all five'
ਛੇ	'six'	ਛੇਵਾਂ	'sixth'					ਛੇਏ	'all six'
ਸਤ	'seven'	ਸਤਵਾਂ	'seventh'						
ਅੱਠ	'eight'	ਅੱਠਵਾਂ	'eighth'						
ਨੌਂ	'nine'	ਨਾਵਾਂ	'ninth'						
ਦਸ	'ten'	ਦਸਵਾਂ	'tenth'						
ਯਾਰਾਂ	'eleven'	ਯਾਰ੍ਹਵਾਂ	'eleventh'						
ਬਾਰਾਂ	'twelve'	ਬਾਰ੍ਹਵਾਂ	'twelfth'						

Only cardinals and ordinals are found beyond 'six'. Higher ordinals are rare, but can be formed when needed by the following rule: From 'eleven', to eighteen', i.e., all the

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numerals ending is ਆਂ in the cardinal, infix - ਵ - and raise the tone to high. For higher numerals, add – ਵਾਂ and raise the tone. Note that 'five' to 'ten' add this same suffix, but do not change the tone. Note also, there is a vowel change in ਨਾਵਾਂ from ਨੌਂ 'nine'.

The ordinals ਕਾਹਰਾ, ਦੂਹਰਾ, ਤੀਹਰਾ, ਚੌਹਰਾ, and ਦੂਣਾ, ਤੀਣਾ, ਚੌਣਾ are black adjectives and are inflected accordingly. The cardinals to 'one hundred' and the set ਦੋਏ...ਛੇਏ are red adjectives and are uninflected.

Numbers higher than 'one hundred' are made by the use of the following forms:

ਸੌਂ	'hundred'
ਹਜ਼ਾਰ	'thousand'
ਲੱਖ	'hundred thousand'
ਕਰੋੜ	'Ten million'

These can be used alone, or a small number can be placed before them as a multiplier:

ਸੌਂ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'a hundred boys'.
ਦੋ ਸੌਂ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'two hundred boys'.
ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'a thousand boys'.
ਸਤ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'seven thousand boys'.

ਇਕ ਸੌਂ ਮੁੰਡੇ is possible, but would give great emphasis to the preciseness of the count, and so would be most unusual. Other numbers can be formed by joining lower number after higher:

ਦੋ ਸੌਂ ਵੀਹ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'two hundred and twenty boys'.
ਪੰਚਾਸੀ ਸੌਂ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'8500 boys'.
ਛੱਤੀ ਸੌਂ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'Thirty six hundred boys'.

The last form is a standard expression for a large, indefinite number producing general confusion. It means something like 'far too many boys', Other indefinite numbers, without the connotation of the last are the following:

ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ	'thousands'
ਲੱਖਾਂ	'millions'

The following nouns are used to count units of twelve or a hundred:

ਦਰਜਨ	'dozen'	pl.	ਦਰਜਨਾਂ
ਸੈਂਕੜਾ	'hundred'	pl.	ਸੈਂਕੜੇ

These may be counted – ਦੋ ਦਰਜਨਾਂ, ਤਿੰਨ ਦਰਜਨਾਂ etc……but are not used in forming expression like 'one hundred and fifty' which can only be ਇਕ ਸੌਂ ਪੰਜਾਹ.

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Certain common fractions are expressed by single words:

ਸਵਾਇਆ	‘one quarter’	(singular)
ਅੱਧਾ	‘one half ’	(singular)
ਪੌਣਾ	‘Three quarters’	(singular)
ਡਿਉੜਾ(noun)	‘one and a half ’	(singular)
ਡੇਹੜ(Adj.)	‘one and a half ’	
ਢਾਈ	‘two and a half ’	(plural)

Other fractions are expressed by the use of:

ਸਵਾ	‘one quarter more than’
ਸਵਾ ਇਕ	‘one and a quarter’
ਸਵਾ ਤਿੰਨ	‘three and a quarter’
ਸਾਢੇ	‘one half more than’
ਸਾਢੇ ਤਿੰਨ	‘three and a half ’
ਸਾਢੇ ਚਾਰ	‘four and a half ’
ਪੌਣੇ	‘one quarter less than’
ਪੌਣੇ ਤਿੰਨ	‘two and three quarters’
ਪੌਣੇ ਪੰਜ	‘four and three quarters’

Other fractions can be formed on the following pattern, but are not at all commonly used:

ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਹਿੱਸਾ	‘a fifth part’

Quantities up to ਡਿਉੜਾ are singular:

ਇਕ ਤੋਲਾ	‘one tola’
ਸਵਾਇਆ ਤੋਲਾ	‘$1\frac{1}{4}$ tola’
ਪੌਣਾ ਤੋਲਾ	‘$\frac{3}{4}$tola’
ਡੇਢ ਤੋਲਾ	‘$1\frac{1}{2}$ tola’
ਪੌਣੇ ਦੋ ਤੋਲੇ	‘$1\frac{3}{4}$ tola’

Compare ਡੇਹੜਾ ਕੰਮ ਕੀਤਾ ‘He did extra work’ ਡੇਹੜਾ means merely extra; ਡੇਹੜ means $1\frac{1}{2}$ precisely.

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5.10 Tables of Numerals

The following table gives the integral cardinal numerals from ‘one’ to ‘one hundred’. Compare 5.11.

ਇਕ	‘one’	ਚੌਂਤੀ	‘thirty-four’	ਸਤਾਹਠ	‘sixty-seven’
ਦੋ	‘two’	ਪੈਂਤੀ	‘thirty-five’	ਅਠਾਹਠ	‘sixty-eight’
ਤਿੰਨ	‘three’	ਛੱਤੀ	‘thirty-six’	ਉਨੱਤਰ	‘sixty-nine’
ਚਾਰ	‘four’	ਸੈਂਤੀ	‘thirty-seven’	ਸੱਤਰ	‘seventy’
ਪੰਜ	‘five’	ਅਠੱਤੀ	‘thirty-eight’	ਇਕੱਤਰ	‘seventy-one’
ਛੇ	‘six’	ਉਨਤਾਲੀ	‘thirty-nine’	ਬਹੱਤਰ	‘seventy-two’
ਸੱਤ	‘seven’	ਚਾਲੀ	‘forty’	ਤਿਹੱਤਰ	‘seventy-three’
ਅੱਠ	‘eight’	ਇਕਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-one’	ਚੁਹੱਤਰ	‘seventy-four’
ਨੌਂ	‘nine’	ਬਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-two’	ਪੰਜੰਤਰ	‘seventy-five’
ਦਸ	‘ten’	ਤਰਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-three’	ਛਿਅੱਤਰ	‘seventy-six’
ਯਾਰਾਂ	‘eleven’	ਚੁਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-four’	ਸਤੱਤਰ	‘seventy-seven’
ਬਾਰਾਂ	‘twelve’	ਪੰਜਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-five’	ਅਠੱਤਰ	‘seventy-eight’
ਤੇਰਾਂ	‘thirteen’	ਛਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-six’	ਉਨਾਸੀ	‘seventy-nine’
ਚੌਦਾਂ	‘fourteen’	ਸੰਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-seven’	ਅੱਸੀ	‘eighty’
ਪੰਦਰਾਂ	‘fifteen’	ਅਠਤਾਲੀ	‘forty-eight’	ਇਕਾਸੀ	‘eighty-one’
ਸੋਲਾਂ	‘sixteen’	ਉਨੰਜਾ	‘forty-nine’	ਬਿਆਸੀ	‘eight-two’
ਸਤਾਰਾਂ	‘seventeen’	ਪੰਜਾਹ	‘fifty’	ਤਰਿਆਸੀ	‘eighty-three’
ਅਠਾਰਾਂ	‘eighteen’	ਇਕਵੰਜਾ	‘fifty-one’	ਚੁਰਾਸੀ	‘eighty-four’
ਉਨੀਂ	‘ninteen’	ਬੁਵੰਜਾ	‘fifty-two’	ਪੰਜਾਸੀ	‘eighty-five’
ਵੀਹ	‘twenty’	ਤਰਵੰਜਾ	‘fifty-three’	ਛਿਆਸੀ	‘eighty-six’
ਇੱਕੀ	‘twenty-one’	ਚੁਰੰਜਾ	‘fifty-four’	ਸਤਾਸੀ	‘eighty-seven’
ਬਾਈ	‘twenty-two’	ਪਚਵੰਜਾ	‘fifty-five’	ਅਠਾਸੀ	‘eithty-eight’
ਤੇਈ	‘twenty-three’	ਛਪੰਜਾ	‘fifty-six’	ਉਨਾਨਵੇਂ	‘eighty-nine’
ਚਵ੍ਹੀ	‘twenty-four’	ਸਤਵੰਜਾ	‘fifty-seven’	ਨੱਬੇ	‘ninety’
ਪੰਝੀ	‘twenty-five’	ਅਠਵੰਜਾ	‘fifty-eight’	ਇਕਾਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-one’
ਛੱਬੀ	‘twenty-six’	ਉਨ੍ਹਾਠ	‘fifty-nine’	ਬਾਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-two’
ਸਤਾਈ	‘twenty-seven’	ਸੱਠ	‘sixty’	ਤਰਿਆਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-three’
ਅਠਾਈ	‘twenty-eight’	ਇਕਾਹਠ	‘sixty-one’	ਚੁਰਾਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-four’
ਉਨੱਤੀ	‘twenty-nine’	ਬਾਹਠ	‘sixty-two’	ਪਚਾਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-five’
ਤੀਹ	‘thirty’	ਤਰ੍ਹੇਠ	‘sixty-three’	ਛਿਆਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-six’
ਇਕੱਤੀ	‘thirty-one’	ਚੌਂਠ	‘sixty-four’	ਸਤਾਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-seven’
ਬੱਤੀ	‘thirty-two’	ਪੈਂਹਠ	‘sixty-five’	ਅਠਾਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-eight’
ਤੇਤੀ	‘thirty-three’	ਛਿਹਾਠ	‘sixty-six’	ਨੜਿਨਵੇਂ	‘ninety-nine’
				ਸੌ	‘hundred’

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5.11 Alternative Method of Counting

There is an alternative method of counting numbers above twenty. It is more commonly used in rural areas than in the cities, and is generally considered less proper, or as an indication of less education.

The unit is ਵੀਹ 'twenty', used with a plural ਵੀਹਾਂ, Even multiples of twenty are counted:

ਦੋ ਵੀਹਾਂ	'two twenties'	'forty'
ਤਿੰਨ ਵੀਹਾਂ	'three twenties'	'sixty'
ਛੇ ਵੀਹਾਂ	'six twenties'	'one hundred and twenty'

'five twenties' might be excepted, but is very infrequent, being used instead.

The ten numbers following any multiple of twenty are expressed by adding.

ਤਿੰਨ ਵੀਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਦਸ	'three twenties and ten'	'seventy'
ਚਾਰ ਵੀਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਪੰਜ	'four twenties and five'	'eighty five'

The nine numbers before any multiple of twenty are expressed by subtraction:

ਇਕ ਘਟ ਤਿੰਨ ਵੀਹਾਂ	'one less than three twenties'	'fifty nine'
ਪੰਜ ਘਟ ਚਾਰ ਵੀਹਾਂ	'five less than four twenties'	'seventy five'
ਦੋ ਘਟ ਸੌ	'two less than a hundred'	'ninety eight'

5.12 Postposition

There are three types of post positions in Punjabi.

1. ਦਾ 'of ' is inflectd for gender, number, and case and agrees with the following noun. Compare Hindi . The forms are:

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular direct	/ਦਾ/	/ਦੀ/
oblique	/ਦੇ/	/ਦੀ/
Plural direct	/ਦੇ/	/ਦੀਆਂ/
oblique	/ਦਿਆਂ/	/ਦੀਆਂ/

2. Three forms always immediately follow the noun and show no inflection. These are:
   /ਨੇ 'instrumental or agentive'. Compare Hindi ने
   /ਨੂੰ 'to' also marks various verbal complements. Compare Hindi को
   /ਤੋਂ 'from', 'by' compare Hindi से.
   /ਨੇ and /ਨੂੰ lose their tone and become suffixes after certain pronouns. The combinations have been listed in the paradigms of pronouns (see 5.3)./ ਤੋਂ is related in some less obvious way to the various allomorphs marking the ablative of pronouns and of certain nouns: / – ਓ–ਥੋਂ–ਥੋਂ/. The forms are included in the paradigms (see 5.2 and 5.3).

3. There are a large number of postpositions which may follow a noun or a noun plus /ਦੇ/. The use of /ਦੇ/ is in most instances completely optional, unlike Hindi के.These also

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generally have two forms. One can be considered as comparable to a locative singular noun, of which /ਘਰੇ/ is the only example in standard use; the other to an ablative singular noun, some of these are, in fact related to nouns, so that the postpositons can be considered as the locative and ablative cases of the nouns.

Some important examples are:

/ਵਿਚ/	'in'	/ਵਿੱਚੋਂ/	'from inside'
/ਅੰਦਰ/	'inside'	/ਅੰਦਰੋਂ/	'from inside'
/ਬਾਹਰ/	'outside'	/ਬਾਹਰੋਂ/	'from outside'
/ਉੱਤੇ/~ /ਤੇ/	'on'	/ਉਤੋਂ/ ~/ਤੋਂ	'from above'
/ਥੱਲੇ/	'under'	/ਥੱਲਿਓਂ/	'from below'
/ਨਾਲ/	'with'	/ਨਾਲੋਂ/	'from with'
/ਕੋਲ/	'near'	/ਕੋਲੋਂ/	'from near'
/ਬਿਨਾ/	'without'	/ਬਿਨੋਂ/	'without'
/ਪਿੱਛੇ/	'after'	/ਪਿੱਛੋਂ/	'from behind'
/ਅੱਗੇ/	'in front of '	/ਅੱਗੋਂ/	'from before'
/ਵਲ/	'towards'	/ਵੱਲੋਂ/	'from the direction of '

/ਦੇ/ cannot precede the shortened forms, /ਤੇ/ 'on' or /ਤੋਂ/ 'from on' but can be used with the longer equivalent forms /ਉੱਤੇ/ or /ਉੱਤੋਂ/.

The /ਦੇ/ which occurs optionally between nouns and postpositions of group 3 is best considered as the masculine singular oblique of /ਦਾ/. It is not used after pronouns, but the genitive form of the pronouns is used.

/ਮੋਹਣ ਨਾਲ/ – /ਮੋਹਣ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ/	'with Mohan'
/ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ/	'with me'

Moreover the postpositions which may follow /ਦੇ/ are all comparable to nouns of paradigm I, e.g. /ਬਾਹਰ/ /ਬਾਹਰੋਂ/ or II, e.g. /ਥੱਲੇ/ /ਥੱਲਿਓਂ/, that is to masculine nouns.

5.14 Verbal Auxiliaries

There are two verbal auxiliaries, inflected for person and number:

	Imprefective	Perfective
Ist Singular	ਆਂ	ਸਾਂ
Plural	ਆਂ	ਸਾਂ
2nd Singular	ਏਂ	ਸੈਂ
Plural	ਓ	ਸੋ–ਸੌ
3rd Singular	ਏ~ਆ	ਸੀ
Plural	ਨੇ ~ਆ	ਸਨ

In standard written language, the third person imperfective is usually /ਹੈ/ singular, and /ਹਨ/ plural. These forms are spoken in very formal discourse.

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5.15 Causative Extensions

Verb stems may be inflected, or they may be extended to form causatives which are inflected. There are two types of causatives, simple and double. Some verb stems have both, some only one. In general, the simple causative is formed by adding /ਆ/, the double by /-ਵਾ–/. Verbs are customarily cited in the infinitive form. By a regular rule, /-ਆ-/ and /-ਵਾ-/ become /-ਔ-/ and /-ਵੌ-/ before the suffix /-ਣਾ-/. In the following examples, both the stems and the infinitives are cited. There are commonly alternations in the stems before causative extensions. These are detailed in the following paragraphs. In all types, the tone shifts to the extension, but remains the same unless noted.

1. In monosyllabic verbal stems with final consonants, the vowel always becomes /ਔ/ before causative extensions. Gemination, if present, is simplified.

/ਜੁੜ-//ਜੁੜਣਾ/ ‘to become stitched’
/ਜੜਾ-//ਜੜੌਣਾ/ ‘to stitch’
/ਜੜਣਾ-//ਜੜਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to stitch’
/ਸੁੱਟ-//ਸੁੱਟਣਾ/ ‘to throw’
/ਸਟਾ-//ਸਟੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to throw’
/ਸਟਵਾ-//ਸਟਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to make throw’
/ਭੁੰਨ-//ਭੁੰਨਣਾ/ ‘to roast’
/ਭਨਾ-//ਭਨੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to roast’
/ਭਨਵਾ-//ਭਨਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to make roast’.

High tones become low in both causatives:
/ਲੱਭ-//ਲੱਭਣਾ/ ‘to find’
/ਲਭਾ//ਲਭੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to find’
/ਲਭਵਾ//ਲਭਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to make find’

2. In monosyllabic stems with final /ਐ/, the vowel drops before the simple causative extension and becomes /ਆ/ before the double causative extension.

/ਪੈ-//ਪੈਣਾ/ ‘to lie down’
/ਪਾ -/ /ਪੌਣਾ/ ‘to put down’
/ਪਵਾ//ਪਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to put-down’
/ਢੈ//ਢੈਣਾ/ ‘to fall flat’
/ਢਾ-//ਢੌਣਾ/ ‘to knock down’
/ਢਵਾ-//ਢਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to knock down’

High tones become low in the double causative.
/ਲਹਿ-//ਲਹਿਣਾ/ ‘to get down’
/ਲਾਹ-//ਲੌਹਣਾ/ ‘to pull down’
/ਲਵ੍ਹਾ-//ਲਵ੍ਹੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to pull down’

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3. In monosyllabic stems with final /ਈ/, the vowel becomes /ਇ/ in the simple causative. No verbs of this type have double causatives.
/ਪੀ-//ਪੀਣਾ/ ‘to drink’
/ਪਿਆ//ਪਿਅੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to drink’
High tones become low in the causative.

4. In stems ending in other vowels, the vowel or vowel sequence becomes /ਆ/. Only double causatives occur.
/ਪੀਹ-//ਪੀਹਣਾ/ ‘to grind’
/ਪਿਹਾ-//ਪਿਹੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to grind’
/ਚੋ/ -/ਚੋਣਾ/ ‘to milk’
/ਚਵਾ-//ਚਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to milk’
/ਸਿਊ-//ਸਿਊਣਾ/ ‘to sew’
/ਸਵਾ-//ਸਵੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to sew’

5. In disyllabic stems ending in consonants, the vowel of the first syllable becomes /ਆ/ and the vowel of the second syllable is dropped before causative extensions. If the medial cononsant is geminated, it becomes simple. Only the simple causative occurs:
/ਮੁੱਕਰ-//ਮੁੱਕਰਣਾ/ ‘to deny’
/ਮੁਕਰਾ-//ਮੁਕਰੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to deny’
/ਉਘੜ-//ਉਘੜਣਾ/ ‘to show up’
/ਉਘੜਾ-//ਉਘੜੌਣਾ/ ‘to cause to show up’

Some verb stems are not used in the causative. Others are used in only one of the two. Only a relatively small number occur in both caustives. When only one causative occurs, its meaning is normally to cause to do the action designated by the primary stem. When both causatives occur, the simple causative is in meaning causative of the primary, the double causative is caustive of the simple causative.

5.16 BASIC VERB PARADIGM

A verb stem, primary or causative, may be inflected giving the forms exhibited in the following paradigms. They are not glossed in this section. Most of the forms cannot be satisfactorily translated in isolation. Meanings will, however, be described for various verb phrases into which these forms enter (see 7.6). The labels are arbitrary. They will serve to identify the forms, but do not give much information about the use or meaning.

Gurmukhi spellings are given for the verb paradigms because many of the spellings do not follow simply by application of spelling rules (see 4.11). Many of the spellings are morphophonemic that is, a normalized ending is added to a normalized stem. Certain stem changes are thus unrepresented. The spellings, therefore, show less variety than do the pronunciations.

In this section only one verb is shown, /ਚੂਪਣਾ/ to suck. All forms are given in full. This verb is selected as exhibiting no stem changes and taking affixes in normal form. Additional

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verb paradigms show typical stem alternations and alternative affix forms are given in the next section. References in this paradigm are to sections discussing the forms.

	Masculine		Faminine
Bare Stem			O
( )	ਚੂਪ		
Present I	ਚੂਪਨਾ		ਚੂਪਨੀ
(5.18)	ਚੂਪਨੇ		ਚੂਪਨੀਆਂ
Present II	ਚੂਪਦਾ		ਚੂਪਦੀ
(5.18)	ਚੂਪਦੇ		ਚੂਪਦੀਆਂ
Pres. Perf.			
(5.18)	ਚੂਪਦਿਆਂ		
Past	ਚੂਪਿਆ		ਚੂਪੀ
(5.19)	ਚੂਪੇ		ਚੂਪੀਆਂ
Past Perf.		ਚੂਪਿਆਂ	
(5.19)			
Future	ਚੂਪੂੰਗਾ		ਚੂਪੂੰਗੀ
(5.20) 1st Sing.			
Pl.	ਚੂਪਾਂਗੇ		ਚੂਪਾਂਗੀਆਂ
2nd Sing.	ਚੂਪੇਂਗਾ		ਚੂਪੇਂਗੀ
Pl.	ਚੂਪੋਗੇ		ਚੂਪੋਗੀਆਂ
3rd Sing.	ਚੂਪੇਗਾ		ਚੂਪੇਗੀ
Pl,ਚੂਪਣਗੇ			ਚੂਪਣਗੀਆਂ
Sort future		ਚੂਪੂੰ	
(5.20) 1st Sing.			
3rd Sing.		ਚੂਪੂ	
Hortative			
(5.21) 1st Sing.		ਚੂਪਾਂ	
Pl.		ਚੂਪੀਏ	
2nd Sing.		ਚੂਪੋਂ	
Pl.		ਚੂਪੋ	
3rd Sing.		ਚੂਪੇ	
Pl.		ਚੂਪਣ	
Optative	ਚੂਪੀਦਾ		ਚੂਪੀਦੀ
(5.22)	ਚੂਪੀਦੇ		ਚੂਪੀਦੀਆਂ
Imperative			
(5.23)			
Ordinary Sing.	ਚੂਪ		
Pl.	ਚੂਪੋ		
Polite Sing.	ਚੂਪੀਂ		
Pl.	ਚੂਪਿਓ		

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Infinitives
(5.24)

Simple	ਚੂਪਣਾ
Conditional	ਚੂਪਣ
Imperfective	ਚੂਪਣੋ

5.17 ADDITIONAL VERB PARADIGMS.

Abbreviated paradigms are given here for certain verbs to illustrate important types of stem alternation and some of the allomorphs of certain suffixes. In general, those forms inflected for number and gender (see 5.5) are given in one form only, usually masculine singular. The number gender suffix is separated from the stem by a hyphen. Thus /ਪਉਨਆ-/ stands for /ਪਉਨਾ ਪਉਨੇ ਪਉਨੀ ਪਉਨੀਆਂ/. The only exception is in the past, where two forms are given, the masculine singular and the masculine plural. Both feminine forms are to be formed on the stem seen in the masculine plural. Thus /ਪਾਇਆ ਪਾਏ-/ stands for a full paradigm /ਪਾਇਆ ਪਾਏ ਪਾਈ ਪਾਈਆਂ/.

	1.ਪੌਣਾ (ਪਾਉਣਾ)	2.ਲੌਹਣਾ (ਲਾਹੁਣਾ)	3. ਨ੍ਹੌਣਾ
	to put	to pull down	to bath
Bare Stem	ਪਾ	ਲਾਹ	ਨ੍ਹਾ
Pres. I	ਪਾਉਨਾ	ਲਾਹੁਨਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਨਾ
Pres. II	ਪਾਉਂਦਾ	ਲਾਹੁੰਦਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਂਦਾ
Pres Perf	ਪਾਉਂਦਿਆਂ	ਲਾਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	ਪਾਇਆ	ਲਾਹਿਆ	ਨ੍ਹਾਇਆ ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਤਾ
	ਪਾਏ	ਲਾਹੇ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏ ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਤੇ
Past Perf.	ਪਾਇਆਂ	ਲਾਹਿਆਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਇਆਂ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਤਿਆਂ
Future			
1st Sing.	ਪਾਊਂਗਾ	ਲਾਹੂੰਗਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਊਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਪਾਂਵਾਗੇ	ਲਾਹਵਾਂਗੇ	ਨ੍ਹਾਵਾਂਗੇ
2nd Sing.	ਪਾਏਂਗਾ	ਲਾਹੇਂਗਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਪਾਉਗੇ	ਲਾਹੋਗੇ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਗੇ
3rd Sing.	ਪਾਏਗਾ	ਲਾਹੇਗਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏਗਾ
Pl.	ਪਾਉਣਗੇ	ਲਾਹੁਣਗੇ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣਗੇ
Short Future			
1st Sg.	ਪਾਊਂ	ਲਾਹੂੰ	ਨ੍ਹਾਊਂ
3rd Sg.	ਪਾਊ	ਲਾਹੂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਊ

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Hortative			
1st Sg.	ਪਾਵਾਂ	ਲਾਹਵਾਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਵਾਂ
Pl.	ਪਾਈਏ	ਲਾਹੀਏ	ਨ੍ਹਾਈਏ
2nd Sg.	ਪਾਏਂ	ਲਾਏਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏਂ
Pl.	ਪਾਉ	ਲਾਹੁ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉ
3rd	ਪਾਏ	ਲਾਹੇ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏ
Pl.	ਪਾਉਣ	ਲਾਹੁਣ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣ
Optative	ਪਾਈਦਾ	ਲਾਹੀਦਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਈਦਾ
Imperative-	ਪਾ	ਲਾਹ	ਨ੍ਹਾ
Ord. Sg.			
Ord. Pl.	ਪਾਓ	ਲਾਹੋ	ਨ੍ਹਾਓ
Pol. Sg.	ਪਾਈਂ	ਲਾਹੀਂ	ਨ੍ਹਾਈਂ
Pol. Pl.	ਪਾਇਓ	ਲਾਹਿਓ	ਨ੍ਹਾਇਓ
Infinitive-	ਪਾਉਣਾ	ਲਾਹੁਣਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣਾ
simple			
Conditional	ਪਾਉਣ	ਲਾਹੁਣ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣ
Imperfect	ਪਾਉਣੋ	ਲਾਹੁਣੋ	ਨ੍ਹਾਉਣੋ

	4 ਭੌਣਾ	5 ਸੌਣਾ	6 ਕਰੌਣਾ
	to wonder	to sleep	to cause to do
Bare stem	ਭੌ	ਸੌ	ਕਰਾ
Pres. I	ਭੌਂਨਾ	ਸੌਂਨਾ	ਕਰੌਂਨਾ
Pres. II	ਭੌਂਦਾ	ਸੌਂਦਾ	ਕਰੌਂਦਾ
Prest. Perf.	ਭੌਂਦਿਆਂ	ਸੌਂਦਿਆਂ	ਕਰੌਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	ਭੌਂਵਿਆ	ਸੁੱਤਾ~ ਸੌਂਵਿਆ	ਕਰਾਇਆ
Masc. Pl.	ਭੌਂਵੇ	ਸੁੱਤੇ ~ਸੌਂਏ	ਕਰਾਏ
Past Perf.	ਭੌਂਵਿਆਂ	ਸੁਤਿਆਂ~ ਸੌਂਇਆਂ	ਕਰਾਇਆਂ
Future			
1st Sg.	ਭੌਊਂਗਾ	ਸੌਊਂਗਾ	ਕਰਾਊਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਭੌਂਵਾਂਗੇ	ਸੌਂਵਾਂਗੇ	ਕਰਾਵਾਂਗੇ
2nd Sg.	ਭੌਏਂਗਾ	ਸੌਏਂਗਾ	ਕਰਾਏਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਭੌਂਵੋਗੇ	ਸੌਂਵੋਗੇ	ਕਰਾਉਗੇ
3rd Sg.	ਭੌਏਗਾ	ਸੌਏਗਾ	ਕਰਾਏਗਾ
Pl.	ਭੌਣਗੇ	ਸੌਣਗੇ	ਕਰਾਉਣਗੇ
Short Fut.			
1st Sg.	ਭੌਊਂ	ਸੌਊਂ	ਕਰਾਊਂ
3rd Sg.	ਭੌਊ	ਸੌਊ	ਕਰਾਊ
Hortative			
1st Sg.	ਭੌਂਵਾਂ	ਸੌਂਵਾਂ	ਕਰਾਵਾਂ

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Pl.	ਭੰਵੀਏ	ਸੰਵੀਏ ~ ਸੌਂਈਏ	ਕਰਾਈਏ
2nd Sg.	ਭੰਵੇਂ	ਸੰਵੇਂ	ਕਰਾਂਏਂ
Pl.	ਭੰਵੋਂ	ਸੰਵੋਂ	ਕਰਾਓ
3rd Sg.	ਭੰਵੇਂ	ਸੰਵੇ	ਕਰਾਏਂ
Pl.	ਭੌਂਣ	ਸੌਂਣ	ਕਰਾਉਣ
Optative	ਭੌਂਈਂਦਾ	ਸੌਂਈਂਦਾ	ਕਰਾਈਂਦਾ
Imperative			
Ord Sg.	ਭੌਂ	ਸੌਂ	ਕਰਾ
Ord. Pl.	ਭੰਵੋ	ਸੰਵੋ	ਕਰਾਓ
Pol. Sg.	ਭੰਵੀਂ	ਸੰਵੀਂ	ਕਰਾਂਈਂ
Pol. Pl.	ਭੀਂਵਓ	ਸੀਂਵਓ	ਕਰਾਇਓ
Infinitive			
Simple	ਭੌਂਣਾਂ	ਸੌਂਣਾ	ਕਰਾਉਣਾ
Condit.	ਭੌਂਣ	ਸੌਂਣ	ਕਰਾਉਣ
Imper.	ਭੌਂਣੈਂ	ਸੌਂਣੈਂ	ਕਰਾਉਣੈਂ

	7 ਲੈਣਾਂ	8 ਰਹਿਣਾ	9 ਢਹਿਣਾਂ
	to take	to live	to fail
Bare stem	ਲੈ	ਰਹਿ	ਵਹਿ
Pres. I	ਲੈਨਾ	ਰਹਿਨਾ	ਢਹਿਨਾ
Pres. II	ਲੈਂਦਾ	ਰਹਿੰਦਾ	ਢਹਿੰਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	ਲੈਂਦਿਆਂ	ਰਹਿੰਦਿਆਂ	ਢਹਿੰਦਿਆਂ
Past	ਲਿਆ	ਰਿਹਾ	ਢਿਹਾ
Masc. Pl.	ਲਏ	ਰਹੇ	ਢਹੇ
Past Perf.	ਲਿਆਂ	ਰਿਹਾਂ	ਢਹਿਆਂ
Future			
1st Sg.	ਲਊਂਗਾ	ਰਹੂੰਗਾ	ਢਹੂੰਗਾ
Pl.	ਲਵਾਂਗੇ	ਰਵਾਂਗੇ	ਢਵ੍ਹਾਂਗੇ
2nd Sg.	ਲਵੇਂਗਾ	ਰਵ੍ਹੇਂਗਾ	ਢਵ੍ਹੇਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਲਵੋਗੇ	ਰਵ੍ਹੋਗੇ	ਢਵ੍ਹੋਗੇ
3rd Sg.	ਲਵੇਗਾ	ਰਵ੍ਹੇਗਾ	ਢਵ੍ਹੇਗਾ
Pl.	ਲੈਣਗੇ	ਰਹਿਣਗੇ	ਢਹਿਣਗੇ
Short Fut.			
1st Sg.	ਲਊਂ	ਰਹੂੰ	ਢਊਂ
3rd Sg.	ਲਊ	ਰਹੂ	ਢਹੂ
Hortative			
1st Sg.	ਲਵਾਂ	ਰਵ੍ਹਾਂ	ਢਵ੍ਹਾਂ
Pl.	ਲਈਏ	ਰਹੀਏ	ਢਈਏ

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2nd Sg.	ਲਏਂ	ਰਹੋਂ	ਢਏਂ
Pl.	ਲਓ	ਰਹੋ	ਢਓ
3rd Sig	ਲਏ	ਰਹੇ	ਢਏ
Pl.	ਲੈਣ	ਰਹਿਣ	ਢੈਣ
Optative	ਲਈਦਾ	ਰਹੀਦਾ	ਢਈਦਾ
Imperative			
Ord Sg.	ਲੈ	ਰਹਿ	ਢੈ
Ord Pl.	ਲਉ ~ ਲਵ੍ਹੋ	ਰਹੋ ~ ਰਵ੍ਹੋ	ਢਉ ~ ਢਵ੍ਹੋ
Pol. Sg.	ਲਈਂ	ਰਹੀਂ	ਢਈਂ
Pol. Pl.	ਲਿਓ	ਰਿਹੋ	ਢਇਓ
Infinitive			
Simple	ਲੈਣਾ	ਰਹਿਣਾ	ਢੈਣਾ
Condit	ਲੈਣ	ਰਹਿਣ	ਢੈਣ
Imperf.	ਲੈਣੇਂ	ਰਹਿਣੇਂ	ਢੈਣੇਂ

	10 ਪੀਣਾ	11 ਪੀਹਣਾ	12 ਸਿਉਂਣਾ
	to drink	to grind	to sew
Bare Stom	ਪੀ	ਪੀਹ	ਸਿਉਂ
Pres. I	ਪੀਨਾ	ਪੀਹਨਾ	ਸਿਉਂਨਾ
Pres. II	ਪੀਂਦਾ	ਪੀਂਹਦਾ	ਸਿਉਂਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	ਪੀਂਦਿਆਂ	ਪੀਂਹਦਿਆਂ	ਸਿਉਂਦਿਆਂ
Past	ਪੀਤਾ	ਪੀਹਿਆ	ਸੀਤਾ
Masc. Pl.	ਪੀਤੇ	ਪੀਹੇ	ਸੀਤੇ
Past Perf.	ਪੀਤਿਆਂ	ਪੀਹਿਆਂ	ਸੀਤਿਆਂ
Future			
1st Sg.	ਪੀਊਂਗਾ	ਪੀਹੂੰਗਾ	ਸੀਊਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਪੀਆਂਗੇ	ਪੀਹਾਂਗਾ	ਸੀਆਂਗੇ
2nd Sg.	ਪੀਏਂਗਾ	ਪੀਹੇਂਗਾ	ਸੀਏਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਪੀਉਂਗੇ	ਪੀਹੋਗੇ	ਸੀਉਗੇ
3rd Sg.	ਪੀਏਗਾ	ਪੀਹੇਗਾ	ਸੀਏਗਾ
Pl.	ਪੀਣਗੇ	ਪੀਹਣਗੇ	ਸੀਣਗੇ
Short Future			
1st Sg.	ਪੀਊਂ	ਪੀਹੂੰ	ਸੀਊਂ
3rd Sg.	ਪੀਊ	ਪੀਹੂ	ਸੀਊ
Hortative			
1st Sg.	ਪੀਆਂ ~ ਪੀਵਾਂ	ਪੀਹਾਂ ~ ਪੀਹਵਾਂ	ਸੀਵਾਂ ~ ਸੀਆਂ
Pl.	ਪੀਏ	ਪੀਹੇ	ਸੀਏ
2nd Sg.	ਪੀਏਂ	ਪੀਹੇਂ	ਸੀਏਂ

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Pl.	ਪੀਓ	ਪੀਹੋ	ਸੀਓ
3rd Sg.	ਪੀਏ	ਪੀਹੇ	ਸੀਏ
Pl.	ਪੀਣ	ਪੀਹਣ	ਸਿਊਣ
Optative	ਪੀਂਦਾ ~ ਪੀਈਂਦਾ	ਪੀਹਦਾ~ ਪੀਹੀਂਦਾ	ਸੀਦਾ ~ਸੀਈਂਦਾ
Imperative			
Old Sg.	ਪੀ	ਪੀਹ	ਸਿਉਂ
Ord Pl.	ਪੀਓ	ਪੀਹੋ	ਸੀਓ
Pol. Sg.	ਪੀਵੀਂ	ਪੀਹਵੀਂ	ਸੀਵੀਂ
Pol. Pl.	ਪੀਓ	ਪੀਹੋ	ਸੀਓ
Infinitive			
Simple	ਪੀਣਾ	ਪੀਹਣਾ	ਸਿਉਣਾ
Condit.	ਪੀਣ	ਪੀਹਣ	ਸਿਊਣ
Imperf.	ਪੀਣੇਂ	ਪੀਹਣੇਂ	ਸਿਊਣੇਂ

	13 ਕੁੱਟਣਾ	14 ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣਾ	15 ਬੋਲਣਾ
	to beat	to bind	to say
Bare steam	ਕੁਟ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	ਬੋਲ
Pres. I	ਕੁੱਟਨਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਨਾ	ਬੋਲਨਾ
Pres. II	ਕੁੱਟਦਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਦਾ	ਬੋਲਦਾ
Pres. Perf.	ਕੁੱਟਦਿਆਂ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਦਿਆਂ	ਬੋਲਦਿਆਂ
Past	ਕੁੱਟਿਆ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿਆ	ਬੋਲਿਆ
Masc. pl.	ਕੁੱਟੇ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ	ਬੋਲੇ
Past. perf.	ਕੁੱਟਿਆਂ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿਆਂ	ਬੋਲਿਆਂ
Future			
1st sg.	ਕੁੱਟੂੰਗਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂੰਗਾ	ਬੋਲੂੰਗਾ
Pl.	ਕੁੱਟਾਂਗੇ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਾਂਗੇ	ਬੋਲਾਂਗੇ
2nd Sg.	ਕੁੱਟੇਂਗਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇਂਗਾ	ਬੋਲੇਂਗਾ
Pl.	ਕੁੱਟੋਗੇ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੋਗੇ	ਬੋਲੋਗੇ
3rd Sg.	ਕੁੱਟੇਗਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂੰਗਾ	ਬੋਲੇਗਾ
pl.	ਕੁੱਟਣਗੇ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣਗੇ	ਬੋਲਣਗੇ
Short Future			
1st Sg.	ਕੁੱਟੂੰ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂੰ	ਬੋਲੂੰ
3rd Sg.	ਕੁੱਟੂ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੂ	ਬੋਲੂ
Hortative			
1st Sg.	ਕੁੱਟਾਂ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ	ਬੋਲਾਂ
Pl.	ਕੁੱਟੀਏ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੀਏ	ਬੋਲੀਏ
2nd Sg.	ਕੁੱਟੇਂ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇਂ	ਬੋਲੇਂ
Pl.	ਕੁੱਟੋ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੋ	ਬੋਲੋ
3rd Sg.	ਕੁੱਟੇ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ	ਬੋਲੇ

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pl.	ਕੁੱਟਣ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣ	ਬੋਲਣ
Optative	ਕੁੱਟੀਦਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੀਦਾ	ਬੋਲੀਦਾ
Imperative			
Ord. Sg.	ਕੁੱਟ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	ਬੋਲ
Ord. pl.	ਕੁੱਟੋ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹੋ	ਬੋਲੋ
Pol. pl.	ਕੁੱਟਿਓ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿਓ	ਬੋਲਿਓ
Infinitive			
Simple	ਕੁੱਟਣਾ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣਾ	ਬੋਲਣਾ
Condit.	ਕੁੱਟਣ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣ	ਬੋਲਣ
Imperf.	ਕੁੱਟਣੋ	ਬੰਨ੍ਹਣੋ	ਬੋਲਣੋ

	16 ਜਾਣਾ	17 ਹੋਣਾ	18 ਜਾਨਣਾ
	to go	to be	to know
Bare Steam	ਜਾ	ਹੋ	ਜਾਣ
Pres. I	ਜਾਨਾ	ਹੁੰਨਾ	ਜਾਨਨਾ
Pres. II	ਜਾਂਦਾ	ਹੁੰਦਾ	ਜਾਣਦਾ
Pres. perf.	ਜਾਂਦਿਆਂ	ਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ	ਜਾਣਦਿਆਂ
Past	ਗਿਆ	ਹੋਇਆ	ਜਾਣਿਆ
masc. pl.	ਗਏ	ਹੋਏ	ਜਾਣੇ
Past. perf.	ਗਿਆਂ	ਹੋਇਆਂ	ਜਾਣਿਆਂ
Future			
1st Sg.	ਜਾਊਂਗਾ	ਹੋਊਂਗਾ	ਜਾਣੂੰਗਾ
pl.	ਜਾਵਾਂਗੇ	ਹੋਆਂਗੇ	ਜਾਣਾਂਗੇ
2nd Sg.	ਜਾਏਂਗਾ	ਹੋਏਂਗਾ	ਜਾਣੇਂਗਾ
pl.	ਜਾਉਗੇ	ਹੋਵੋਗੇ	ਜਾਣੋਗੇ
3rd Sg.	ਜਾਏਗਾ	ਹੋਏਗਾ	ਜਾਣੇਗਾ
pl.	ਜਾਣਗੇ	ਹੋਣਗੇ	ਜਾਨਣਗੇ
Short Future			
1st Sg.	ਜਾਊਂ	ਹੋਊਂ	ਜਾਣੂੰ
3rd. Sg.	ਜਾਊ	ਹੋਊ	ਜਾਣੂ
Hortative			
1st Sg.	ਜਾਵਾਂ	ਹੋਆਂ	ਜਾਣਾਂ
pl.	ਜਾਈਏ	ਹੋਈਏ	ਜਾਣੀਏ
2nd Sg.	ਜਾਏਂ	ਹੋਏਂ	ਜਾਂਏਂ
pl.	ਜਾਓ	ਹੋਵੋ	ਜਾਣੋ
3rd Sg.	ਜਾਏ	ਹੋਏ	ਜਾਣੇ
pl.	ਜਾਣ	ਹੋਣ	ਜਾਨਣ
Optative	ਜਾਈਦਾ	ਹੋਇਦਾ	ਜਾਣੀਦਾ

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Imperative			
Ord. Sg.	ਜਾਹ	ਹੋ	ਜਾਣ
Ord. pl.	ਜਾਓ	ਹੋਵੋ	ਜਾਣੋ
Pol. Sg.	ਜਾਈਂ	ਹੋਈਂ	ਜਾਣੀਂ
Pol. pl.	ਜਾਇਓ	ਹੋਇਓ	ਜਾਣਿਓ
Infinitive			
Simple	ਜਾਣਾ	ਹੋਣਾ	ਜਾਨਣਾ
Condit.	ਜਾਣ	ਹੋਣ	ਜਾਨਣ
Imperf.	ਜਾਣੋ	ਹੋਣੋ	ਜਾਨਣੋ

5.18 PRESENT

Three related forms comprise the present system. They are based on the same stem alternants and are conveniently discussed together.

Present I has the suffix /-ਨ-/ followed by the regular adjective inflection for gender and number. The oblique case does not occur.

Present II has the suffix /-ਦ-/ after consonants, /-ਂਦ-/ after vowels, followed by the regular adjective inflection for gender and number. As present II forms can be used as modifiers in nominal phrases, oblique forms may occur. For the later see 5.8.

The present perfect has the suffix of the present II followed by /-ਇਆਂ-/, that is, /- ਦਿਆਂ-/ after consonants, /-ਅੰਦਿਆਂ-/ after vowels. It is not inflected for number or gender.

Stem alternations for the three are generally parallel.

1. Stems ending in /ਆ/ (except /ਜਾ/ ‘go’ and /ਖਾ/ ‘eat’) and stems ending in /ਔ̃/ (that is, stems having /ਔ̃/ in the infinitive). The stem vowel is either /ਅਊ/ or /ਔ̃/ in the present tense. Both forms are spelled alike.

ਗੌਣਾ ‘to sing’, stem ਗਾ :	Pres. I	ਗਾਉਨਾ ~ ਗੌਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਗਾਉਂਦਾ ~ ਗੌਂਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਗਉਂਦਿਆਂ ~ ਗੌਂਦਿਆਂ

These forms are in free variation in the speech of some, others use one or the other. /ਆਊ/ seems to represent the most typical standard Majhi and is accordingly exhibited in the paradigms, but /ਔ̃/ is an important alternative form in all cases. Compare paradigms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

2. Stems ending in /ਐ/. The stem vowel is either /ਅਈ/ or /ਐ/ in the present system. Both forms are spelled alike.

ਬਹਿਣਾ ‘to sit’ stem ਬਹਿ :	Pres. I	ਬਹਿਨਾ ~ ਬੈਹਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਬਹਿੰਦਾ ~ ਬੈਂਹਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਬਹਿੰਦਿਆਂ ~ ਬੈਂਹਦਿਆਂ

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The forms in /ਅਈ/ are seen clearly to be the more representative of standard Majhi, but some speakers use /ਐ/ and some have the two in free variation. See paradigms 7, 8, 9.

3. Stems with final gemination. The gemination is simplified.

ਸੁੱਟਣਾ 'to throw', stem ਸੁੱਟ :	Pres. I	ਸੁੱਟਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਸੁਟਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਸੁਟਦਿਆਂ

See paradigms 13, 14.

4. Stems with final /ਈਉਂ/ : The stem vowels become /ਇਊ/ in the present system.

ਜੀਊਣਾ ' to live', stem ਜੀਉਂ :	Pres. I	ਜਿਊਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਜਿਉਂਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਜਿਉਂਦਿਆਂ

See paradigm 12.

5. There are some irregular alternations:

ਵੇਖਣਾ 'to see', stem ਵੇਖ :	Pres. I	ਵੇਹਨਾ ~ ਵੇਖਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਵੇਂਹਦਾ ~ ਵੇਖਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਵੇਂਹਦਿਆਂ ~ ਵੇਖਦਿਆਂ
ਆਖਣਾ 'to say', stem ਆਖ:	Pres. I	ਆਹਨਾਂ ~ ਆਖਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਆਂਹਦਾ~ਆਖਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਆਂਹਦਿਆਂ~ਆਖਦਿਆਂ
ਦਿਸਣਾ 'to be seen', stem ਦਿੱਸ :	Pres.	ਦੀਹਨਾ~ਦਿਸਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਦੀਹਦਾ ~ ਦਿਸਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਦੀਹਦਿਆਂ ~ਦਿਸਦਿਆਂ
ਹੋਣਾ 'to be', stem ਹੋ :	Pres. I	ਹੁੰਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਹੁੰਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ

6. Stems ending in /ਣ/ : The /ਣ/ assimilated to /ਨ/ in the present I only.

ਮਾਨਣਾ stem ਮਾਣ :	Pres. I	ਮਾਨਨਾ
	Pres. II	ਮਾਣਦਾ
	Pres. perf.	ਮਾਣਦਿਆਂ

See paradigm 18.

5.19 PAST

Two related forms comprise the past system. They are conveniently treated together.

The past is inflected for number and gender, following the regular adjective inflection. As it may occur attributive to nouns, oblique forms occur, but are not listed in the paradigms. Rather than set up a past morpheme with a large number of dissimilar allomorphs largely lexically conditioned, we merely list past-tense stem forms. This productive pattern uses a past-tense suffix /-ਇ-/ added to the normal stem. This, however, is

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found only in the masculine singular, elsewhere /-ਇ-/ drops and the gender-number suffixes are added directly so the bare stem, or to the special past-tense stem.

The past perfect is formed on the same stem as the past. The suffix is /-ਇਆਂ-/. It is not inflected for person or number.

1. The productive pattern for the past makes use of a suffix /-ਇ-/. The form /-ਇ-/ occurs before /-ਆ-/ in the masculine singular; there is no past tense suffix before other gender-number suffixes. As this is an open class, it is not possible to list all the instances but the following are fairly typical and include some of the common stems:

ਚੂਪ	'suck'	ਚੂਪਿਆ	ਚੂਪੇetc.
ਰੋਲ	'demolish'	ਰੋਲਿਆ	ਰੋਲੇ
ਆ-	'come'	ਆਇਆ	ਆਏ
ਲਾ-	'stick'	ਲਾਇਆ	ਲਾਏ
ਸੌਂ-	'sleep'	ਸੌਂਇਆ ~ ਸੁੱਤਾ	ਸੌਂਏ ~ ਸੁੱਤੇ
ਨ੍ਹਾ-	'bathe'	ਨ੍ਹਾਇਆ ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਤਾ	ਨ੍ਹਾਏ ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਤੇ
ਪਰੋ	'string'	ਪਰੋਇਆ	ਪਰੋਏ ~ ਪਰੋਤੇ
ਨੱਸ	'run'	ਨੱਸਿਆ	ਨੱਸੇ ~ ਨੱਠੇ

All causatives follow this pattern:

ਜਗਾ	'wake up'	ਜਗਾਇਆ	ਜਗਾਏ

2. The past suffix /-ਇ-/ occurs with certain stem alternations: /ਈਊ/ /ਈਵ/

ਜੀਉ	'live'	ਜੀਵਿਆ	ਜੀਵੇ
/ਅੌ/	/ਅੰਓ/		
ਭੌ	'wander'	ਭੰਵਿਆ	ਭੰਵੇ

3. Stems ending in certain geminate consonants may have past forms without /-ਇ-/ even in the masculine singular, the following are examples. These forms are in free variation.

ਲੱਭ	'to find'	ਲੱਭਿਆ ~ ਲੱਭਾ
ਟੁਟ	'to break'	ਟੁੱਟਿਆ ~ ਟੁੱਟਾ
ਮੱਚ	'to flare'	ਮੱਚਿਆ ~ ਮੱਚਾ
ਰਜ-	'to be satisfied'	ਰੱਜਿਆ ~ ਰੱਜਾ
ਉੱਗ	'to sprout'	ਉੱਗਿਆ ~ ਉੱਗਾ
ਨੱਠ-	'to run'	ਨੱਠਿਆ ~ ਨੱਠਾ
ਵੱਸ-	'to rain'	ਵੱਸਿਆ ~ ਵੱਸਾ

4. The following form the past with /-ਤ-/

ਪੀ-	'to drink'	ਪੀਤਾ
ਨ੍ਹਾ-	'bathe'	ਨ੍ਹਾਤਾ ~ ਨ੍ਹਾਇਆ

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ਧੋ-	‘wash’	ਧੋਤਾ	~ ਧੋਇਆ
ਪਰੋ-	‘string’	ਪਰੋਤਾ	~ ਪਰੋਇਆ
ਸੀਊਂ-	‘sew’	ਸੀਤਾ	

5. The following form their past with /-ੱਤ-/

ਸੌਂ	‘sleep’	ਸੁੱਤਾ	~ ਸੌਂਇਆ
ਜੋ-	‘yoke’	ਜੁੱਤਾ	
ਦੇ-	‘give’	ਦਿੱਤਾ	

6. The following form their past by adding /-ੱਦ-/:

ਵਿੰਨ੍ਹ	‘prick’	ਵਿੱਧਾ	ਵਿੱਧੇ
ਗੁੰਨ੍ਹ	‘knead’	ਗੁੱਧਾ	ਗੁੱਧੇ
ਰਿੰਨ੍ਹ	‘cook’	ਰਿੱਧਾ	ਰਿੱਧੇ
ਬੰਨ੍ਹ	‘tie’	ਬੱਧਾ	ਬੱਧੇ

7. The following form their past by adding /-ੱਠ-/ :

ਨੱਸ	‘run’	ਨੱਠਾ	ਨੱਠੇ - ਨੱਸੇ
ਡਹ	‘get placed’	ਡੱਠਾ	ਡੱਠੇ
ਢਹ	‘fall flat’	ਢੱਠਾ	ਢੱਠੇ - ਢਹੇ

8. Stems in final /ਐ/ change this to /ਆ/ which drops before /ਇ/:

ਲੈ-	‘take’	ਲਿਆ	ਲਏ
ਪੈ-	‘lie’	ਪਿਆ	ਪਏ
ਰਹਿ	‘live’	ਰਿਹਾ	ਰਹੇ
ਢਹਿ	‘fall flat’	ਢਿਹਾ	ਢਹੇ - ਢੱਠੇ

9. The following verbs form their past stems in unique patterns:

ਜਾ	‘go’	ਗਿਆ	ਗਏ
ਬਹਿ-	‘sit’	ਬੈਠਾ	
ਖਾ-	‘eat’	ਖਾਧਾ	
ਪੀਹ-	‘grind’	ਪੀਠਾ	
ਕਰ-	‘do’	ਕੀਤਾ	

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5.20 FUTURE

The future is inflected for person, number, and gender. The following are the normalized forms of the desinences:

	masc.	fem.		free alternates
1st Sg.	– ਊਂਗਾ	– ਊਂਗੀ	~	– ਆਂਗਾ – ਆਂਗੀ
pl.	– ਆਂਗੇ	– ਆਂਗੀਆਂ		
2nd Sg.	– ਏਂਗਾ	– ਏਂਗੀ		
pl.	– ਓਗੇ	– ਓਗੀਆਂ		
3rd Sg.	– ਏਗਾ	– ਏਗੀ	–	– ਊਗਾ – ਊਗੀ
pl.	ਣਗੇ–	– ਣਗੀਆਂ		

The alternative forms listed are in free variation with those listed in the main paradigm in the speech of some Punjabis. The standard language, however, prefers the forms given in the paradigms.

There is also a short form of the future used only in first and third singular. The suffixes are:

1st Sg.	– ਊਂ
3rd Sg.	– ਊ

These short forms may be considered as the normal futures minus /ਗਾ-/ or /-ਗੀ/. Accordingly, the short future does not show gender. On the basis of comparison with these shortened forms, the future desinences can be considered as being composed of three successive elements, a person-number marker, /-ਗ-/, and the usual gender-number suffixes:

ਚੂਪ	– ਊਂ	– ਗ	–ਾ		ਚੂਪ	– ਊਂ	– ਗ	–ੀ	ਚੂਪ	– ਊਂ
ਚੂਪ	– ਆਂ	– ਗ	–ੇ		ਚੂਪ	– ਆਂ	– ਗ	–ੀਆਂ		
ਚੂਪ	– ਏਂ	– ਗ	–ਾ		ਚੂਪ	– ਏਂ	– ਗ	–ੀ		

All mid-tone stems become high-tone in the future. Low tone stems, however remain low. This results in a loss of contrast between mid and high-tone stems, see paradigms 10 and 11.

The future desinences are subject to the following alternations:

1st Sg. /– ਊਂਗਾ – ਊਂਗੀ/ remains the same after all stems.

After the rather few stems ending in /ਊ/ the normal form of the suffix may be used or the two successive vowels may coalesce into one. Thus /ਧੂਊਂਗਾ/ and /ਧੂੰਗਾ/ ‘I will pull’ are

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alternatives. The first form, with a re-articulated vowel rather than a merely lengthened one is heard most often in learned or very formal speech.

1st pl. /-ਆਂਗੇ-ਆਂਗੀਆ/ becomes /-ਵਾਂਗੇ-ਵਾਂਗੀਆਂ/ after stems ending in /ਆ/ or /ਅ/. See paradigms 1-9, 16.

1st pl. However, forms with /ਆਵਾ/ or /ਅਵਾ/ are in free variation with more colloquial forms without /ਵ/ and with vowels coalesced into /ਆ/. Thus:

ਜਾਵਾਂਗੇ– ਜਾਂਗੇ ‘we will go’

ਲਵਾਂਗੇ– ਲਾਂਗੇ ‘we will take’

2nd Sg. /– ਏਂਗਾ– ਏਂਗੀ/ becomes /– ਵੇਂਗਾ– ਵੇਂਗੀ/ after stems ending in /ਆ/, but where the /ਅ/ represents an /ਐਂ/ in the bare steam, the /ਐਂ/ may appear instead and the desinence is without /ਵ/. See paradigms 4,5,7,8,9.

2nd pl./–ਓਗੇ– ਓਗੀਆਂ/ becomes /– ਵੋਗੇ– ਵੋਗੀਆਂ/ after stems ending in /ਆ/, and /ਓ/. See paradigms 4,5,7,8,9,17. However, forms with /ਅਵੋ/ are in free variation with more colloquial forms without/ ਵ/ and with the vowels coalesced into /ਔਂ/. Thus

ਲਵੋਗੇ– ਲੌਂਗੇ ‘you will take’

After stems ending in a nasal or a nasalized vowel, the /ਓ/ is automatically (sub-phonemically) nasalized, and a homorganic nasal is heard before the /ਗ/. See paradigms 4,5,14,18.

3rd Sg. /–ਏਗਾ– ਏਗੀ/ becomes /– ਵੇਗਾ– ਵੇਗਾਂ/ after /ਆ/, but where the /ਅ/ represents an /ਐਂ/ in the bare stem, the /ਐਂ/ may appear instead and the desinence is without /ਵ/. See paradigms 4,5,7,8,9. After stems ending in a nasal or a nasalized vowel, the /ਓ/ is automatically nasalized. See paradigm 4,5,14,18.

3rd pl. /–ਣਗੇ– ਣਗੀਆਂ/ becomes /–ਅਣਗੇ – ਅਣਗੀਆਂ/ after a stem ending in a consonant. See paradigms 13,14,15,18. This desinence follows different stem alternants than all the others. For the forms see below:

1st Sg. Short future /ਊਂ-/ is the same after all stems, but of course after nasal stems the nasalization on the suffix is nondistinctive.

3rd Sg. Short future /-ਊ-/ is the same after all stems, except that after nasal stems there is automatic nasalization. Thus the two short futures become identical in pronunciation in 4,5,14,18.

Note that /ਨ੍ਹਾਓਗੇ – ਨ੍ਹਾਏਗਾ/ do not have nasalization in the desinence because nasalization of vowels bearing low tone is not automatic after /ਨ/. See paradigm 3 (see 2.9).

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The third person plural future and hortative are built on the same stem alternant as the infinitives, except in the case of verb stems ending in /ਲ/ which retain /ਲ/ here but not in the infinitives. Most stems in /ਆ/ change this to /ਐਂ/, but stems in /ਈਊ/ change this to /ਇਊ/, see paradigm 12. Stems in /ਣ/ change this to /ਨ/, see paradigm 18.

The remaining person number forms of the future and hortative as well as the optative are built on stem alternants as follows: Stems in /ਐ/ change this to /ਆ/, see paradigms 7,8,9. Stems in /ਐਂ/ change this to /ਆ/, but may retain /ਐਂ/ in the second and third person singulars.

5.21 HORTATIVE

The hortative is inflected for person and number, but not for gender. The normal suffixes are as follow:

1st Sg.	–ਆਂ
pl.	–ਈਏ
2nd Sg.	–ਏਂ
pl.	– ਓ (Plus high tone with mid-tone stem)
3rd Sg.	–ਏ
pl.	– ਦੇ (Plus high tone with mid-tone stem)

These suffixes are subject to the following alternations:

1st Sg. /ਆਂ-/ becomes /ਵਾਂ-/ after /ਆ/ or /ਅ/, see paradigms 1-9, 16. There is free variation between /ਆਂ-/ and /ਵਾਂ-/ after stems ending in /ਈ/. See paradigms 10,11,12.

1st pl. /ਈਏ-/ becomes automatically nasalized after stems ending in nasals. This is not marked in most instances, but where the stem ends in a nasal vowel, the transcription convention requires the nasalization to be written on the ending. See paradigms 4,5,14,18.

2nd Sg. /ਏਂ-/ becomes /ਵੇਂ-/ after /ਆ/. See paradigms 4,5,7,8,9. After /ਆ/ /-ਏ/ and /ਵੇਂ-/ are in free variation, but the form without /ਵ/ is preferred in the standard language. See paradigms 1,2,3,6,16.

2nd pl. /ਓ-/ becomes /ਵੋ-/ after stems ending in /ਓ/, see paradigm 17, This suffix is automatically nasalized after stems ending in nasals. See paradigms 4,5,14,18.

3rd Sg. /ਏ-/ becomes /ਵੇ-/ after /ਆ/, see paradigms 4,5,7,8,9. This suffix is automatically nasalized after stems ending in nasals. See paradigms 4,5,14,18.

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3rd pl. /ਣ-/ becomes /ਅਣ-/ after consonants, see paradigms 13,14,15,18.

The hortative follows the same stem alternants as the future.

These are described in 5.20. As in the future, the stem alternants may be different in the third person plural than in all others.

5.22 OPTATIVE

The optative is formed by the suffix /ਈਦ-/ followed by the regular inflectional endings for gender and number. The suffix is added to the same stem alternants as is used in most future and hortative forms. This is described in 5.20.

After stems ending in a nasal the /ਈ/ is automatically nasalized. This nasalized vowel will be followed by an automatic /./ before the /ਦ/. In the case of /ਭੌਈਂਦਾ/ and /ਸੌਈਂਦਾ/, this /ਨ/ is required to indicate the nasalization on the preceding vowels.

Stems ending in /ਈ/ may take either /-ਈਦ/ or /-ਦ/. In the former case, the vowel /ਈ/ is rearticulated rather than merely lengthened. This is a rather unusual sequence in Punjabi, but does occur, particularly in learned or very formal speech.

5.23 IMPERATIVE

There are four imperative forms, singular and plural, ordinary and polite. In addition, hortative and infinitive forms can be used to give commands or make requests, see 7.6.

The imperative suffixes are as follows: Singular Ordinary: no suffix. Stems ending in /ਆ/ and retaining this /ਆ/ in the infinitive, however, mark the form by changing a mid tone to a high. See paradigm 16.

/ਖਾਣਾ/ ‘to eat’ stem; /ਖਾ/ imperative /ਖਾਹ/. Stems ending in geminate consonants simplify following the general phonologic rule. See paradigm 13.

ਸੁੱਟ – ‘throw’ ਸੁਟ

Ordinary plural: /-ਓ/ This suffix becomes /ਵੋ-/ after /ਓ/ and /ਆ/, see paradigms 7,8,9,17. The sequence /ਅਵੋ/ is in free variation with /ਅੌ/. After stems ending in nasals or with a nasal preceding the final vowel, the suffix is automatically nasalized, but this need not be written. See paradigms 14 and 18. After stems ending in nasalized vowels, the nasalization continues into the suffix. Since the last vowel is the conventional place to indicate nasalization; it is written on the suffix, see paradigms 4 and 5. Mid tone becomes high, see paradigs 1,5-7,10,12,13,15-18.

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The following stem alternations occur both with the ordinary plural and with the polite singular: /ਅੰ/ becomes /ਅਣ/, see paradigms 4 and 5. /ਐ/ becomes /ਆ/, see paradigms 7,8 and 6. /ਇਊ/ becomes /ਈ/. See paradigm 12.

Polite singular : /ਈਂ-/. This suffix becomes /ਵੀਂ-/ after /ਈ/. See paradigms 10,11,12.

Polite Plural: /ਇਓ/. This suffix becomes /ਓ-/ with stems ending in /ਈ/, neutralizing the opposition with the ordinary plural in some stems. See paradigms 10,11 and 12.

Stems ending in /ਐ/ drop the vowel, see paradigms 7,8 and 9. Stems ending in /ਇਊ/ change this to /ਈ/, after which the suffix is /ਓ-/. See paradigm 12.

There is the same automatic nasalization as with the ordinary plural. See paradigms 4,5,14,18.

5.24 INFINITIVES

There are three infinitives in Panjabi. The suffixes are as follows:

Simple infinitive, /-ਣਾ/. This becomes /ਅਣਾ-/ after geminate consonants. See paradigm 13.

Conditional Infinitive, /ਣ-/. This becomes /ਅਣ-/ after consonants. See paradigms 13,14,15,18.

Imperfective Infinitive, /ਣੋ-/. This becomes /ਅਣੋ-/ after geminate consonants. See paradigm 13.

The following stem alternations occur: /ਆ/ becomes /ਅੰ/ in most cases. See paradigms 1,2,3 and 6.

/ਆ/ remains /ਆ/ in two common verbs, /ਜਾਣਾ/ ‘to go’ and /ਖਾਣਾ/ ‘to eat’. See paradigm 16.
/ਣ/ becomes /ਨ/. See paradigm 18.

/ਨੰ/ becomes /ਨ/ in the simple and imperfective infinitives. After this change, of course, the suffix is /ਣਾ-/. See paradigm 14.

Stems ending in vowels are automatically nasalized in most cases (see 2.9). This is not written. The nasalization is consequently not identifiable. See paradigms 4 and 5.

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5.25 VERB STEMS

The description of the verb morphology above is based on the normalized stem of the verb. This is in general identical with the form listed in the paradigms as the bare stem. The latter form can be easily found for any verb by eliciting the following sentences:

ਉਹ– .....ਸਕਦਾ ਏ. 'He can……'

This bare stem differs from the normalized stem only when the latter ends in a geminate. See paradigms 13 and 14. That this is the case can be easily determined by examining any of several other forms, future, hortative, imperative (except ordinary singular), or infinitive. Perhaps the easiest to elicit is the infinitive, but some other must be used if the stem ends in /ਨ/. If any of these forms has a geminate, the normalized stem does also.

The normalized stem carries all necessary information to indicate all details of inflection except for the past, and the imperative in the case of a few verbs. The necessary additional information can be obtained by eliciting the infinitive and the past.

When the bare stem, and hence the normalized stem, ends in /ਆ/ two inflectional patterns are possible, as examplified by paradigms 1,2,3,6 and by paradigm 16. The first group has /ਔ/ before the infinitive suffix /ਣਾ-/, and the second has /ਆ/. The first is much the larger group, but the second includes two very common verbs /ਜਾ/ 'go' and /ਖਾ/ 'eat'.

Past forms of many verbs are lexically conditioned, and it is therefore necessary to elicit a past form. The masculine singular ordinary past is both the easiest to elicit, and the most satisfactory. This form will tell whether the /ਇ-/ suffix is used or not. The other gender-number forms and the past-perfect are predictable from this, with no complication except in the case of past of the form /ਆ-/ where the stem seems to consist of a single consonant. In these cases, the stem in other past forms is always /ਆ/.

The lexical information needed to control verb morphology may be summarized as follows: The normalized stem, the subclass if the normalized stem ends in /ਆ/ seen most easily in the infinitive, and the past stem, best seen in the masculine singular past.

The infinitive, however, is traditional dictionary entry form, but is inadequate in many instances. It does not distinguish between verbs like ਔਣਾ 'come' with stem ਆ and ਸੌਣਾ 'sleep' with stem ਸੌ. However, starting from the stem of the infinitive easily gives the impression that verbs like ਸੌਣਾ are highly irregular, whereas actually the forms (excepting of course the past) follow very directly from the normalized stem ਸੌ by simple rules. Moreover, verbs like ਔਣਾ though following from the infinitive by regular rule, require repeated statement of stem alternations ਔ > ਆ.

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It is worth noting that, because of the partially morphophonemic writing, the normalized stem of a verb is sometimes more readily apparent from the spelling than from the pronunciation. But because the orthography is not wholly morphophonemic this must be used with care.

5.26 COMPARISION WITH HINDI

Punjabi verbal inflection is in general parallel to that of Hindi. For the most part there are comparable forms having comparable function. The two systems can be equated as follows:

bare stem	ਚੂਪ	मार
Present I	ਚੂਪਨਾ	
II	ਚੂਪਦਾ	मारता
Pref.	ਚੂਪਦਿਆਂ	मारते
Past	ਚੂਪਿਆ	मारा
perf.	ਚੂਪਿਆਂ	मारे
Future	ਚੂਪੂੰਗਾetc.	मारुंगा
Short	ਚੂਪੂੰ	
Hortative	ਚੂਪਾਂ	मारुं
Optative	ਚੂਪੀਦਾ	
Imperative	ਚੂਪ	मार
	ਚੂਪੋ	मारो
	ਚੁਪੀਂ	मारिये
	ਚੂਪਿਓ	मारिये
Infinitive	ਚੂਪਣਾ	मारना
	ਚੂਪਣ	
	ਚੂਪਣੋ	

Certain significant differences are immediately apparent from this tabulation, and others become evident when the full paradigms are compared. The following are worthy of note.

Hindi lacks the distinction between present I and present II In Punjabi this distinction is limited, present I is used only in first and second persons.

The Hindi future can be formed by adding – ਗਾ to the Hortative forms. This is true in Punjabi only of the second and third plural. It is also partially true of the second and third singular – there is a tone difference with verbs having mid-tone on the normalized stems.

Hindi does not have the short future.

There is no Hindi equivalent of the Punjabi optative.

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Hindi is best described as having only a single infinitive. This, however, is inflected for case. The Punjabi conditional infinitive is comparable in use to the Hindi oblique, मारने. It is not convenient to consider the Punjabi form as an inflected form of the simple infinitive because no other words form obliques in a parallel way. The Punjabi imperfective infinitive is, in at least some usages, translated by Hindi मारने से that is, by the infinitive and a postposition. It is worth noting that the Punjabi form is that which would be expected if the infinitive were inflected like a noun in the optative case with /-ਓ/. We have listed it as a separate form because of the rather special position of the ablative in Punjabi noun inflection.

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CHAPTER 6

NOMINAL PHRASES

6.1 DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

We treat in this chapter all those phrases built around nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and postpositions. These have, of course, a variety of structures and a variety of functions, but also certain basic similarities which justify their being treated together.

These phrases may consist of a single word-a noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb-or of constructions of various lengths. They occur in sentences as subjects, three types of complements, and various adjuncts-especially locative and temporal. Their use in various clause patterns is described in chapter eight.

Phrase structure is recursive, that is, phrase may be components of phrases, occasionally through several layers. In general, the heads of these phrases are last, the attributives preceding. Certain types of attributives, however, may occur after the head, and even at some distance from the remainder of the phrases.

Anticipating chapter eight, we may classify the phrases into the following types:

1. Typically used as adjuncts:
(a) A noun with or without attributives followed by a postposition of the type inflected for ablative or locative, or /ਤੋਂ/.
(b) A noun or pronoun in the ablative, locative, or oblique case.
(c) An adverb.

2. Typically used as main sentences elements:
(a) A noun with or without attributives in the direct case.
(b) A pronoun in the ablative or instrumental case.
(c) A noun with or without attributives and followed by the postposition /ਨੇ/ or /ਨੂੰ/.

3. Typically a constituent of a larger phrase, but also occurring as a main sentence element in one clause type:
(a) An adjective, with or without attributives.
(b) A pronoun in the genitive case.
(c) A noun wih or without attributives or pronoun followed by the post position /ਦਾ/.

In describing sentence structure, these three types will be abbreviated PP − from postpositional phrase, the typical representative-for the first group, NP-from noun phrase, a representative type, for the second group, and AP-from adjective phrase-for the third.

Most PP and NP and many AP are alike in internal structure, differing only in the case of the head word or the type of postpositions. They therefore need little separate attention in this chapter.

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In this and subsequent chapters, examples will be partially parsed by writing under them abbreviations to identify elements. These abbreviations will be written at the beginning of any element and will apply to everything up to the next symbol. If a sentence is not completely marked, it may be necessary to indicate the close of an element. This will be done by the use of a closing parenthesis.

A full list of all the abbreviations will be found at the end of the book. The following will give the symbols for various parts of speech as used in this chapter:

N	Noun	Nun	Number
Pr	Pronoun	Neg	Negator
A	Adjective	Crd	Coordinator
P	Postposition	E	Emphatic Particle
C	Connector		
Adv	Adverb		
V P	Verb Phrase		

6.2 ONE WORD PHRASES

1. Pronouns do not have modifiers, though they can modify other words, particularly nouns. They are most often one word phrases. Those in the direct, instrumental, and dative cases (see 5.5 for the forms) are classified as NP. Those in the ablative case (and the closely related pronouns like adverbs) are classified as PP. The pronouns in the genitive case are classified as AP, For examples of the use of these see 6.11, sentences 9, 16, 17.

2. Adverbs do not have modifiers and do not enter phrases as modifiers. They are, therefore, always single word phrases, but often these phrases are in opposition with other phrases to form complex PPs. Examples can be seen in 6.11, sentences 1 and 17.

3. Postpositions are generally found as the last elements in multiword phrases, but can also occur alone as single-word PPs. For an example see 6.11, sentence 15.

4. Nouns in the direct case frequently occur as NPs. For examples see 6.11, sentences 4, 5, 14.

5. Nouns in the oblique may occur as single-word PPs. See 6.11, sentence 17.

6. Adjectives without modifiers are common as APs. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 16.

7. Nouns in the vocative case generally stand alone as single word phrases of a special type, labeled in the examples as Voc. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 14.

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6.3 MODIFIERS OF NOUNS

Most modifiers of nouns precede the noun. There are a variety of elements that can be used as noun modifiers. Among them are the following:

1. Adjectives with or without modifiers:

ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘good boy’
ਚੰਗੀ ਕੁੜੀ	‘good girl’

Black adjectives agree in gender, number, and case with the head noun when they are of the inflectable type (see 5.8). For examples, see 6.11, sentences 2, 4, 10. Adjectives may be iterated for emphasis:

ਹਰੇ ਹਰੇ ਬੂਟੇ	‘deep green plants’
ਬਹੁਤ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘very good boy’
ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘best boy’

Adjective phrases consist of an adjective with various modifiers, see 6.4 For example, see 6.11, sentences 2, 5, 12, 24, 28.

2. Numerals and phrases based on numerals:

ਇਕ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘one boy’
ਤਿੰਨ ਮੁੰਡੇ	‘three boys’
ਚਾਰ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	‘four girls’

Numerals are inflected to show case only, not gender. The following examples are in the oblique:

ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	‘three boys’
ਚਾਰਾਂ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	‘four girls’

Higher numbers are phrases, but fall into the same pattern:

ਦੋ ਸੌ ਮੁੰਡੇ	‘two hundred boys’

For such phrases see 5.9 and 6.6. For examples, see 6.11, sentences 16, 25, 26.

3. Pronouns in the genitive:

ਮੇਰਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘my boy’
ਸਾਡੀ ਕੁੜੀ	‘our girl’

For the forms of these pronouns, see 5.5. For examples, see 6.11, sentences 17, 22.

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4. Noun phrases followed by /ਦਾ/:

ਉਸ ਆਦਮੀ ਦਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘that man's boy’
ਉਸ ਆਦਮੀ ਦੀ ਕੁੜੀ	‘that man's daughter’

For examples, see 6.11, sentences 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, etc.

5. Verb phrases with conditional infinitives as head followed by /ਦਾ/:

ਖਾਣ ਦੀ ਨੀਤ	‘intention of eating’

For examples, see 6.11, sentences 3,8.

6. Verb phrases, with either the past or the present I:

ਭੱਜਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘a running boy’
ਭੱਜੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਕੁੜੀ	‘a running girl’
ਖਲੋਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘standing boy’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 15.

7. Deictic Pronouns:

ਇਹ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘this boy’
ਉਹ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘that boy’
ਉਹ ਕੁੜੀ	‘that girl’

For examples see 6.11, sentences 9, 13, 26.

8. Certain pairs of closely related adjectives, it is not clear whether these should be treated as a single modifier, a special kind of adjective phrase, or as a sequence of two adjective modifiers. There are heavy stylistic restrictions on the pairs that can be so used, but the pattern is productive. The usage is rather definitely literary in most cases.

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 20.

9. A type of relative clause introduced by /ਜੋ/, /ਜਿਹੜਾ/, /ਜਿਸ/ or /ਜਿੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ/, all meaning ‘who’ or ‘what’. These follow the head noun, and a postposition if there is one.

ਉਹ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਜੋ ਸ਼ਹਿਰੋਂ ਆਇਆ	‘that boy who came from the city’
ਉਹ ਕੁੜੀ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਰੋਂਦੀ ਪਈ ਸੀ	‘that girl who was crying’
ਉਹ ਆਦਮੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦੱਸਿਆ ਸੀ	‘that man who told me’

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For further details on these and particularly other uses of these pronouns see chapter 10. For examples, see 6.11, sentences 17, 21.

10. The particle /ਜੀ/ may be used to indicate respect. Among its various usages is that following nouns, particularly names and titles. Here it might be considered a modifier of the noun.

ਮਾਂ ਜੀ	‘mother’
ਪਿਤਾ ਜੀ	‘father’

6.4 ORDERS OF MODIFIERS OF NOUNS

Nouns may have two or more modifiers. The order of such modifiers is fixed in certain combinations, free in others. In general, phrase modifiers precede single word modifiers. Examples may be seen in 6.11, sentences 2, 5, 27.

1. Pronouns precede all others, including mulit-word verb phrases or adjective phrases.

ਇਹ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘this good boy’
ਮੇਰਾ ਇਕ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘my one son’
ਉਹ ਭੱਜਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘that running boy’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 13.

2. Numerals precede adjectives or verb phrases, except when the adjective is to be considered as attributive to the numeral, sentence 6.

ਦੋ ਚੰਗੇ ਮੁੰਡੇ	‘two good boys’
ਦੋ ਭੱਜੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਮੁੰਡੇ	‘two running boys’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 15.

3. Deictic pronouns and genitive pronouns do not often occur together, but can occur in either order:

ਇਹ ਮੇਰਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘this boy of mine’
ਮੇਰਾ ਇਹ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘this boy of mine’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 26.

4. Verb phrases and adjectives do not often occur together modifying the same noun, but this is possible. Since phrasal modifiers precede single words, the verbal modifier is usually first.

ਉਹ ਨੱਸੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਪੋਠੋਹਾਰਨ ਕੁੜੀ	‘that running Pothoharan girl’

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5. When there are many modifiers, especially if two or more are complex, some may be placed after the head word, perhaps even at some distance after it. For examples, see 6.11, sentences 19, 20.

6. Sometimes other syntactic rules override and require a modifier to be placed before its head but separated from it. For an example, see 6.11, sentences 17, 24.

6.5 MODIFIERS OF ADJECTIVES

Adjectives may have various modifiers, usually preceding the adjective. Among these are:

1. Other adjectives, the commonest being /ਬਹੁਤ/ and /ਬੜਾ/:

ਬਹੁਤ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	'very good boy'
ਬੜਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	'very good boy'
ਕੁਝ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	'goodish boy'

/ਬਹੁਤ/ and /ਕੁਝ/ are red adjectives : /ਬੜਾ/ is a black adjective. It takes the same number-gender-case form as the adjective it precedes, that is, it agress with the noun which the other adjective modifies.

ਬੜੀਆਂ ਚੰਗੀਆਂ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	'very good girls'

These adjectives can be used as modifiers of nouns:

ਬੜਾ ਆਦਮੀ	'great man'
ਬਹੁਤ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'many boys'
ਬਹੁਤ ਪਾਣੀ	'much water'
ਕੁਝ ਮੁੰਡੇ	'some boys' – 'a few boys'

However, the first of two adjectives, even though agreeing with the noun do not modify the noun. This can be seen by the fact that the following (the phrases above without /ਚੰਗਾ/) do not occur:

ਬਹੁਤ ਮੁੰਡਾ	– /ਬਹੁਤ/ can be used with such nouns only when plural.
ਬੜਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	– the meaning 'great boy' is at least incongruous
ਕੁਝ ਮੁੰਡਾ	– /ਕੁਝ/ can be used with such nouns only when plural.

For examples, see 6.11, sentences 16, 19.

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2. Certain words used only as modifiers of adjectives:

ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਗ਼ਲਤ ‘extremely wrong’

This item is not at all frequent, and is presumably becoming less frequent in Bharat, since it is of Persian origin introduced from Urdu. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 7.

3. Phrases with /ਤੋਂ/ or /ਨਾਲੋਂ/ to express comparison. Though having other meanings in other contexts, both are best translated ‘than’ as in this usage.

ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ ‘the best boy’ (lit than all)
ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਸੋਹਣੀ ਕੁੜੀ ‘the most beautiful girl’

For examples, see 6.11, sentences 8, 9, 24, 25.

The measure of the comparison may be expressed by a noun phrase in the oblique, see 6.11, sentence 25.
/ਏਦੂੰ/ ‘than this’ and /ਓਦੂੰ/ ‘than that’ are short forms for /ਇਸ ਤੋਂ/ and /ਉਸ ਤੋਂ/. Unlike the latter which may be used to mean more literally ‘from him’ /ਏਦੂੰ/ and /ਓਦੂੰ/ are used to mean more literally ‘from him’ /ਏਦੂੰ/ and /ਓਦੂੰ/ are used only to express comparison. See 6.11, sentence 28.

4. Phrases with various post-positions, the specific postposition being more or less, characteristic of the adjective.

ਪਿਆਰ ਤੋਂ ਖਾਲੀ ‘without love’ ‘(lit. empty of love)’
ਮਾਇਆ ਨਾਲ ਭਰਪੂਰ ‘filled with riches’
ਪਾਣੀ ਨਾਲ ਭਰਿਆ ‘filled with water’

(The last example has a verb form, but the pattern is exactly the same). For an example, see 6.11, sentence 7.

5. /ਵਾਂਗ/ ‘like’ preceded by a noun:

ਪਹਾੜ ਵਾਂਗ ਉੱਚਾ ‘high as a mountain’
ਸਮੁੰਦਰ ਵਾਂਗ ਭਰਪੂਰ ‘filled like the sea’
The noun before /ਵਾਂਗ/ is in oblique case.

6. A few adjectives are regularly modified by nouns in the oblique case, or by pronouns in the oblique of the genitive, one of these is /ਵਰਗਾ/ ‘having the appearance of ’.

ਚਾਂਦੀ ਵਰਗਾ ‘silver colored’
ਪਹਾੜ ਵਰਗਾ ‘mountain-like’
ਚੋਰ ਵਰਗਾ ‘thievish’
ਮੇਰੇ ਵਰਗਾ ‘like me’
For an example, see 6.11, sentence 14.

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7. The word /ਵਾਲਾ/ preceded by noun in the oblique case or by a conditional infinitive forms adjective phrases.

ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਵਾਲੀ ਗਲ	‘the matter about that city’
ਖੂਹ ਵਾਲਾ ਬੋਹੜ	‘the banyan tree near the well’
ਪੀਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਪਾਣੀ	‘drinking water’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 2.

Similar phrases are also used as nouns.

ਕੇਲੇ ਵੇਚਣ ਵਾਲਾ	‘banana seller’
ਕੁਲਫੀ ਵਾਲਾ	‘ice-cream seller’

8. Adjectives may occasionally be modified by clauses. For an example, see 6.11, sentence 16.

6.6 MODIFIERS OF NUMERALS

Numerals and numeral phrases (higher numerals) described in 5.9-5.11 may have various modifiers:

1. Adjectives:

ਅਗਲੇ ਦਸ ਮੁੰਡੇ	‘the next ten boys’
ਪਹਿਲੀਆਂ ਦਸ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	‘the first ten girls’
ਪੂਰੇ ਪੰਜ ਤੋਲੇ	‘exactly five tolas’
ਠੀਕ ਚਾਰ ਦਿਨ	‘exactly four days’
ਕੋਈ ਚਾਰ ਆਦਮੀ	‘some four men’

Inflected adjectives in this use normally end in /-ਏ/, but more rarely they agree with the noun that the numeral modifies:

ਪਹਿਲੀਆਂ ਦਸ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	‘the first ten girls’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 6.

2. Another way to express approximation is by juxtaposing two numerals:

ਦੋ ਚਾਰ ਆਦਮੀ	‘two or four men’

This is vaguer in meaning than /ਕੋਈ ਚਾਰ ਆਦਮੀ/.

3. The particle /ਕੁ/ ‘about’ may follow numerals:

ਪੰਜ ਕੁ ਮਿੰਟ	‘about five minutes’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 23

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6.7 CONNECTIVES

Two connectives occur in nominal phrases, /ਤੇ/ ‘and’ and /ਜਾਂ/ ‘or’. The former must be carefully distinguished from the postposition /ਤੇ/ ‘on’ see 5.12, and from the emphatic particle /ਤੇ/, see 9.6.

/ਤੇ/ and /ਜਾਂ/ may join whole noun phrases:

ਮੇਰਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਤੇ ਤੇਰੀ ਚੰਗੀ ਕੁੜੀ	‘my good boy and your good girl’
ਅਸੀਂ ਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ	‘we and you’

or they may join single noun within noun phrases:

ਜੀਤੇ ਤੇ ਬ੍ਹੀਰੋ ਦਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ	‘the boy of Jita and Bhiro’

When two or more nouns joined by /ਤੇ/ are preceded by modifiers, the modifiers apply to the first noun only. That is, the /ਤੇ/ joins the noun phrases including modifiers if any, rather than the nouns:

ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਤੇ ਕੁੜੀ	‘the good boy and the girl’

In this phrase /ਚੰਗਾ/ ‘good’ modifies /ਮੁੰਡਾ/ ‘boy’ not /ਮੁੰਡਾ ਤੇ ਕੁੜੀ/ ‘boy and girl’, or put another way’ /ਤੇ/ joins /ਚੰਗਾ ਮੁੰਡਾ/ and /ਕੁੜੀ/.

For example of connectives in noun phrases, see 6.11, sentences 6, 20, 27.

In certain positions, the question of number and gender agreement arises. This is true, for example, when nouns joined by /ਤੇ/ are subject of a sentence. When two singular feminine nouns are so joined, the phrase is to be treated as feminine plural:

ਬ੍ਹੀਰੋ ਤੇ ਪਾਲੀ ਘਰ ਗਈਆਂ	‘Bhiro and Pali went home’

The verb form /ਗਈਆਂ/ is feminine plural in agreement with the subject. When the two nouns are both masculine, or one is masculine singular and one feminine singular, the whole is treated as masculine plural:

ਜੀਤਾ ਤੇ ਪਾਲੀ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਗਏ	‘Jita and Pali went to the city’

/ਜੀਤਾ/ is masculine. /ਗਏ/ is masculine plural.

When the nouns connected by /ਤੇ/ are of different genders and are plural, the verb phrase usually agress with the last noun:

ਚਾਰ ਆਦਮੀ ਤੇ ਦੋ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ	‘Four men and two women came’

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/ਆਈਆਂ/ ‘came’ is feminine plural. This rule is not always adhered to; sometimes the verb is masculine plural.

/ਤੇ/ may join adjectival phrases, though not when they are in normal pre-noun modifier position:

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 18.

When three or more elements are joined by /ਤੇ/ the connective may occur between each pair, or only between the last two, Compare sentences 20 and 6 in 6.11. Phrases may also stand in the same relation without overt marking, see sentence 7.

When noun phrases are joined by /ਜਾਂ/ ‘or’, the verb agress with the nearest, see 6.11, sentence 27.

For further details on agreement of verb phrases, see chapter 8.

6.8 APPOSITION

Nominal phrases, always two of the same type, can be in apposition. Apposition is not normally used within noun phrases.

ਮੇਰੀ ਭੈਣ ਜੀਤ	‘my sister Jit’
ਏਥੇ ਇਸ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਵਿਚ	‘here, in this city’

For example, see 6.11, sentences 1, 4, 5.

Other constructions include that joining elements in dates, see 6.11, sentence 26.

6.9 COMPOUNDS

1. Various pairs of nouns, conventionally associated, form two-word compounds with a meaning similar to what would be expected if they were joined by /ਤੇ/ ‘and’.

ਮਾਂ ਪਿਉ	‘father and mother’
ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਅਸਮਾਨ	‘Earth and heaven’

These compounds can occur in noun phrases just as single nouns, and are jointly modified by any preceding modifiers.

ਮੇਰੇ ਮਾਂ ਪਿਉ	‘my parents’

For an example, see 6.11, sentence 4.

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2. There are some similar sequences of adjectives which are conventionally associated and can perhaps best be thought of as compounds.

ਜ਼ਰਾ ਜਿੰਨਾ ‘small - ‘trifling’

/ਜ਼ਰਾ/ is occasionally used without /ਜਿੰਨਾ/, but /ਜਿੰਨਾ/ is seldom used without /ਜ਼ਰਾ/, Each by itself means ‘small’, see 6.11, sentence 11.

3. Another type of two-word compound, quite literary, consists of two nouns, the first of which seems semantically to modify the second:

ਚਾਂਦੀ ਕਮਾਨ ‘silver bow’

ਭਰ ਜਵਾਨ ‘vigorous young person’

For example, see 6.11, sentence 4.

4. Personal names are also treated as compounds consisting of two or more words. Sikh names often contain /ਸਿੰਘ/ for men and /ਕੌਰ/ for women. A family name may be added after these:

ਹਰਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਿਲ ‘Harjeet Singh Gill’

ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਕੌਰ ‘Gurcharan Kaur’

Hindu names are generally similar in form. They may contain /ਸਿੰਘ/, but more often use /ਲਾਲ/, /ਪਰਸ਼ਾਦ/, /ਕੁਮਾਰ/, and various other elements for men, and /ਕੁਮਾਰੀ/, /ਦੇਵੀ/ etc. for women:

ਮੋਹਣ ਲਾਲ ‘Mohan Lal’

ਰਾਮ ਪਰਸ਼ਾਦ ‘Ram Parshad’

ਕਮਲਾ ਕੁਮਾਰੀ ‘Kamla Kumari’

ਸੀਤਾ ਦੇਵੀ ‘Sita Devi’

Colloquial names, generally used only in rural villages, are commonly single words with the following endings:

– ਆ for boys in ordinary usage

– ੂ for boys, affectionate among close acquaintances, rude when used by others.

ਜੀਤਾ ਜੀਤੂ ‘Jita’

– ਓ for girls in ordinary usage.

– ਆਂ for girls to express affection.

ਬ੍ਹੀਰੋ ਬ੍ਹੀਰਾਂ ‘Bhiro’

The later form, being very colloquial, would seldom be written but presumably would be spelled ਬ੍ਹੀਰੋ,ਬ੍ਹੀਰਾਂ, see 4.11.2. This sort of name may be nicknames shortened from

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longer names, or may be lengthened into names of the usual form when needed. /ਜੀਤਾ/ might become /ਦਿਲਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ/, and /ਬ੍ਰੀਰੋ/ might become /ਰਘਬੀਰ ਕੌਰ/.

5. Echo words are another type of two-word compounds. A noun may be followed by a word identical except for the first consonant and sometimes the tone.

ਪਾਣੀ ਧਾਣੀ	'water and things like that'
ਕਮ ਛਮ	'work and things like that'

6.10 POSTPOSITION

For the classification and forms of postpositions, see 5.12.

The postpositions /ਨੇ/ and /ਨੂੰ/ mark NPs. In certain positions the postposition is optional. When the postposition is added, the head noun must become oblique, otherwise it is direct. The presence of one of these postpositions or its equivalent in pronoun suffixes, or the direct case of the head noun are the mark of the NP.

The postposition /ਦਾ/ marks a type of AP. The preceding noun must be oblique. The genitive case of pronouns is equivalent to a noun phrase plus /ਦਾ/. /ਦਾ/ is inflected for number, gender and case.

The remaining postpositions mark PPs. The preceding noun is always in the oblique. These postpositions may, optionally, be preceded by another postposition. With locative postpositions (see 5.12) this is /ਦੇ/. With ablative postposition, it is either /ਦੇ/ or /ਤੋਂ/, with /ਤੋਂ/ perhaps somewhat commoner. All of them may occur without these preceding postpositions. Shortened forms /ਤੇ/ 'on' from /ਉੱਤੇ/, /ਤੋਂ/, 'from on' from /ਉੱਤੇ/, /'ਚੋਂ/ 'from within, from /ਵਿਚੋਂ/, etc. do not take the preceding postpositions.

For example:

ਕੁਰਸੀ ਦੇ ਉੱਤੇ ਬੈਠੋ	'sit on the chair'
ਕੁਰਸੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਬੈਠੋ	'sit on the chair'
ਕੁਰਸੀ ਤੇ ਬੈਠੋ	'sit on the chair'

But the following is not possible:

*ਕੁਰਸੀ ਦੇ ਤੇ ਬੈਠੋ

For example, see 6.11. sentences 19, for /ਦੇ ਵਿਚ/, 23 for /ਤੋਂ ਪਿਛੋਂ/, 1,2,23 for /ਵਿਚ/, 7, 10, 20 for /ਨਾਲ/, 8, 24 for /ਨਾਲੋਂ/, 10 for the short form /ਚੋਂ/, 9 for /ਤੇ/, and 7,9,25 for /ਤੋਂ/.

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6.11 EXAMPLES

The following examples, mostly taken from literature, illustrate various types of noun phrases, including some with fairly complex internal structure. Verb phrases and other sentence elements will not be analyzed at this place.

1. ਹੇਠਾਂ ਰਸੋਈ ਵਿਚ,ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਲੇਠੀ ਦੀ ਧੀ,
   Adv N P Pr P N P N
   PP PP NP
   ਅਠਾਰਾਂ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ,ਟੱਬਰ ਦੀ ਰੋਟੀ
   Num N C N N C N
   NP
   ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ:
   VP (SS – 43)

'Below in the kitchen, their eldest daughter, eighteen years old, Vidya, was cooking dinner for the family'.

The two noun phrases /ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਲੇਠੀ ਦੀ ਧੀ/ 'their eldest daughter' and /ਅਠਾਰਾਂ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ/ 'eighteen year old, Vidya' are in apposition and form a complex NP, see 6.7. Each consists of a noun /ਧੀ/ 'daughter' and /ਵਿਦਿਆ/ 'Vidya' with preceding /ਦਾ/ phrases, /ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਲੇਠੀ ਦੀ/ and /ਅਠਾਰਾਂ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੀ/. The first, in turn, consists of a noun /ਪਲੇਠੀ/ first born' and a preceding /ਦਾ/ phrase /ਏਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ/ 'of then', and the second of a noun /ਸਾਲਾਂ/ 'years' preceded by a numeral /ਅਠਾਰਾਂ/ 'eighteen'. /ਟੱਬਰ ਦੀ ਰੋਟੀ/ is another NP consisting of a /ਦਾ/ phrase /ਟੱਬਰ ਦੀ/ 'of the family' and a noun /ਰੋਟੀ/ 'bread'. The two phrases /ਹੇਠਾਂ/ 'below' and /ਰਸੋਈ ਵਿਚ/ 'in the kitchen' are also in apposition, making a complex locative construction.

2. ਸ਼ਾਹਪੁਰ ਦੇ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਦੀ ਭੂਰੀ ਭਾਹ ਵਾਲੀ ਰੇਤਲੀ
   N P N P A N A A
   NP
   ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਸਵੇਰ ਦੇ ਚਾਨਣ ਵਿਚ ਚਮਕ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ।
   N N P N P
   PP VP (n-5)

'The brown-shaded sandy soil of the Shahpur area was shining in the morning light.'

The NP in sentence 2 consists of a head noun /ਜ਼ਮੀਨ/ with three modifiers (see 6.4): /ਰੇਤਲੀ/ 'sandy', an adjective derived from /ਰੇਤ/ 'sand'; /ਭੂਰੀ ਭਾਹ ਵਾਲੀ/ 'brown-shaded' consisting in turn of the adjective /ਵਾਲੀ/ preceded by a NP in the oblique case; and, /ਸ਼ਾਹਪੁਰ ਦੇ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਦੀ/, 'of the Shahpur area', containing in turn another /ਦਾ/ phrase /ਸ਼ਾਹਪੁਰ ਦੇ/. The PP also contains a /ਦਾ/ phrase preceding a noun.

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3. ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਦਾਦੀ ਬਨਣ ਦਾ ਚਾਉ ਸੀ।
Pr P N V P N
PP NP VP (SS-107)

‘She was eager to become a grandmother’.

(Lit. : ‘To her was eagerness of becoming a grandmother’.)

The NP consists of a noun and a /ਦਾ/ phrase; the latter of a postposition following a verb phrase headed by a conditional infinitive /ਬਨਣ/ ‘to become’.

4. ਜਦੋਂ ਰੂਪਾਂ, ਰਾਜੇ ਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਧੀ, ਭਰ ਜਵਾਨ
Crd N N N P N N N
PP NP NP NP
ਹੋ ਗਈ
VP (m-126)

‘When Rupan, the daughter of the king and queen, attained maturity’.

/ਰੂਪਾਂ/ ‘Rupan’ and /ਰਾਜੇ ਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਧੀ/ ‘daughter of the king and queen’ are in apposition forming one complex NP. /ਰਾਜੇ ਰਾਣੀ/ ‘king and queen’ is a two-word compound-like phrase functioning as a single noun in the /ਦਾ/ phrase /ਰਾਜੇ ਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ/. /ਭਰ ਜਵਾਨ/ ‘mature youth’ is another two-word compound-like phrase, here constituting a whole NP. See 6.8.

5. ਹਰੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਨੂੰਹ ਨੰਦ ਕੌਰ, ਕੁਝ ਅਜਿਹੀ
N P A N N A A
NP NP NP
ਹੀ ਸੁਭਾਗੀ ਨੂੰਹ ਸੀ।
E A N
VP (S-41)

‘The eldest daughter-in-law of Hari Singh, Nand Kaur, was such a fortunate daughter-in-law’.

The first NP contains two modifiers /ਹਰੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ/ ‘of Hari Singh’ and /ਵੱਡੀ/ ‘eldest’. The first /ਹਰੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਨੂੰਹ/ ‘the eldest daughter-in-law of Hari Singh’ and the second /ਨੰਦ ਕੌਰ/ ‘Nand Kaur’ are in apposition and form a complex NP. The last NP contains two modifiers /ਕੁਝ ਅਜਿਹੀ/ ‘somewhat like’ and /ਸੁਭਾਗੀ/ ‘fortunate’, see 6.4. /ਕੁਝ ਅਜਿਹੀ/ is an AP consisting of a head adjective /ਅਜਿਹੀ/ ‘like’ (a word carrying some implication of emphasis in itself) and /ਕੁਝ/ ‘some’. To this adjective phrase has been added an emphatic particle /ਹੀ/, which further emphasizes it, see 9.3.

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6. ਪਿਛਲੇ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਿਹਨਤ ਗਮ ਤੇ ਕਸ਼ਟ
A Num N P N N C N
NP
ਦਾ ਇਵਜ਼ ਮਿਲ ਜਾਵੇ।
P N
VP (SS-111)

'May he get a reward for the last fifty years of hard work, worry and hardship'.

The NP consists of a noun /ਇਵਜ਼/ 'reward', and a /ਦਾ/ phrase. The latter involves a sequence of three nouns, joined by /ਤੇ/ 'and'. One of these, the first, /ਮਿਹਨਤ/ is modified by a /ਦਾ/ phrase. It is clear that the /ਦਾ/ phrase modifies only this one noun, since /ਮਿਹਨਤ/ is feminine, whereas /ਗਮ/ and /ਕਸ਼ਟ/ are masculine; the phrase shows feminine singular concord in /ਦੀ/. Perhaps by implication, the three nouns are all understood to be modified by similar phrases, but grammatically only ਮਿਹਨਤ is to be so modified. /ਦਾ/ is constructed with three NPs: /ਪਿਛਲੇ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਿਹਨਤ/, 'the hard work of the last fifty years' /ਗਮ/ 'worry' and /ਕਸ਼ਟ/ 'hardship', see 6.6. The phrase /ਪਿਛਲੇ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੀ/ contains a noun /ਸਾਲਾਂ/ 'years' and modifying phrase /ਪਿਛਲੇ ਪੰਜਾਹ/ 'last fifty' in which an adjective, /ਪਿਛਲੇ/ 'last', agreeing in gender and number with /ਸਾਲਾਂ/, modifies /ਪੰਜਾਹ/ 'fifty', see 6.3.4.

7. ਦੂਜੇ ਦੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਨਾਲ ਭਰਪੂਰ, ਮਿੱਠੇ ਮੁਸਕਾਂਦੇ, ਤੋਂ
N P N P A A V
AP AP
ਗੁੱਸੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਖਾਲੀ ਹਨ।
N P A
AP VP (gs-10)

'She is thoughtful of others, sweet-smiling, and entirely without anger'.

This sentence contains three phrases coordinate but without connective and forming a complex AP, see 6.6. The first /ਦੂਜੇ ਦੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਨਾਲ ਭਰਪੂਰ/ 'full of thought of others', and the last /ਗੁੱਸੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਖਾਲੀ/ 'completely empty of anger' are both headed by adjectives with PP modifiers /ਦੂਜੇ ਦੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਨਾਲ/ and /ਗੁੱਸੇ ਤੋਂ/. The last one also has the rather unusual adjective modifier /ਬਿਲਕੁਲ/ 'completely'. The second AP. /ਮਿੱਠੇ ਮੁਸਕਾਂਦੇ/ 'sweet-smiling' consists of a verb in the present II form and an attributive adjective. The concord is masculine plural for respect; the other two head adjectives /ਭਰਪੂਰ/ and /ਖਾਲੀ/ are red adjectives and do not show this. The sentence subject, presumably /ਓਹ/ 'she' is omitted as is usual in certain situations in continued narrative, see chapter 10.

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8. ਚੰਗੇ ਲੱਗਣ ਦਾ ਹੁਨਰ ਕਾਮੇ ਹੋਣ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵੀ
A V P N N V P E
NP AP
ਮਹਿੰਗਾ ਏ।
A VP

(gb-170)

'The art of being good is even more precious than being a skilled worker'.

The NP contains a noun /ਹੁਨਰ/ 'art' and a /ਦਾ/ phrase containing a verbal phrase /ਚੰਗੇ ਲਗਣ/ 'being good'. The AP contains an adjective /ਮਹਿੰਗਾ/ 'precious' modified by a PP consisting of a postposition /ਨਾਲੋਂ/ 'than' and a VP /ਕਾਮੇ ਹੋਣ/ 'being a skilled worker'. The emphatic particle /ਵੀ/ 'also, ever' is added to the PP /ਕਾਮੇ ਹੋਣ ਨਾਲੋਂ/ to emphasize it. See 9.4.

9. ਤੇ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਇਸ ਗਲ ਤੇ ਓਹ ਤੁਲ
C N P A Pr N P Pr
C PP PP NP VP
ਪਿਆ ਸੀ। (n-151)

'And more than anything else, he had made up his mind on this matter'.

The first PP /ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ/ 'more than anything' is an example of an adjective modified by a PP /ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ/ 'from all things', and expressing comparison, see 6.5.4. The second PP shows a deictic pronoun /ਇਸ/ 'this' modifying a noun /ਗਲ/ 'matter' in the oblique case before a postposition /ਤੇ/ 'on'. /ਇਸ/ is a literary form for the oblique case of /ਇਹ/ 'this (sing)'.

10. ਇਹ ਕੋਠੇ ਤੇ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ, ਤੇ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ
Pr RR
NP PP VP C NP
ਨਿਰਬਲ ਅੱਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਘਸਮੈਲੇ ਬਦਲਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਚਿੱਟੀਆਂ
A N P A N P A
NP
ਕੰਨੀਆਂ ਚੋਂ ਚਾਂਦੀ ਕਮਾਨ ਦੀ ਧਾਰ ਢੂੰਡਦੇ ਹਨ।
N P N N P N
NP VP

(gs-12)

'She goes up on the roof and with her feeble eyes looks for the silver-lined bow in the white borders of dull clouds'.

/ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਨਿਰਬਲ ਅੱਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ/ 'with her feeble eyes' is an example of a NP containing both an adjective and a pronoun ; the pronoun as usual precedes. /ਘਸਮੈਲੇ ਬੱਦਲਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਚਿੱਟੀਆਂ ਕੰਨੀਆਂ ਚੋਂ/ 'from the white borders of the dull clouds' is an NP showing phrasal modifier

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/ਘਸਮੈਲੇ ਬੱਦਲਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ/ ‘of the dull clouds’ preceding a singleword modifier /ਚਿੱਟੀਆਂ/ ‘white’. /ਚੋਂ/ is a shortened form of /ਵਿਚੋਂ/ ‘from’. /ਚਾਂਦੀ ਕਮਾਨ ਦੀ ਧਾਰ/ ‘line of silver bow’ includes a more or less formalized two-word compound noun /ਚਾਂਦੀ ਕਮਾਨ/ ‘silver bow’, see 5.8.

11. ਇਕ ਜ਼ਰਾ ਜਿੰਨਾ ਕੰਮ ਸੀ।
Num A A N
NP VP (m-85)

‘I had a small business to take care of ’
(Lit. : ‘A small business was’).

The NP /ਇਕ ਜ਼ਰਾ ਜਿੰਨਾ ਕੰਮ/ ‘a small business’ includes two conventionally paired adjectives, forming a two-word compound, /ਜ਼ਰਾ ਜਿੰਨਾ/ ‘small, trifling’, see 6.8.

12. ਇਹ ਬੜਾ ਅਜੀਬ ਵਾਕਿਆ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਸਾਲ ਹੋਇਆ।
Pr A A N A N (m-65)
NP PP VP

‘This strange thing happened last year’.

The NP /ਇਹ ਬੜਾ ਅਜੀਬ ਵਾਕਿਆ/ ‘This very strange thing’ contains an adjective phrase consisting of two adjectives /ਬੜਾ/ ‘very’ attributive to /ਅਜੀਬ/ ‘strange’ see 6.5.1. The deictic pronoun /ਇਹ/ ‘this’ precedes the adjective /ਪਿਛਲੇ/ ‘last’, since /ਸਾਲ/ ‘year’ is of paradigm II.

13. ਇਹਨਾ ਕੁਝ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ
Pr A N P Pr P N
PP NP
(SS-107)
ਘਟ ਗਈ ਸੀ
VP

‘In these few years, his worry was lessened’.

‘/ਇਹਨਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਵਿਚ/’ in these few years’ shows the use of /ਇਹਨਾਂ/ ‘these’ in the plural oblique when modifying a noun, /ਸਾਲਾਂ/ ‘years’ before a postposition /ਵਿਚ/ ‘in’. /ਉਸ/ is a literary form for the singular oblique of /ਓਹ/ ‘that’, ‘he’. See 5.5.

14. ਮਾਂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ ਵੀ ਮਾਂ ਸੀ, ਤੇਰੇ ਵਰਗੀ।
N N P E N Pr A
Voc AP NP VP AP
(m-103)

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‘Mother, Baba too had a mother like you’.

The AP /ਤੇਰੇ ਵਰਗੀ/ ‘like you’ consists of an adjective /ਵਰਗੀ/ ‘having the qualities’ of’ and a genitive pronoun /ਤੇਰੇ/ ‘your’. The AP is in some loose construction with the NP /ਮਾਂ/ ‘mother’.

15. ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਦਸਤੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਚਿਟ ਡਿੱਗੀ
P Num VP N
PP NP VP
(gs-165)

‘From there a hand written letter dropped’.

/ਵਿਚੋਂ/ ‘from is an example of a postposition standing alone as a post-positional phrase, see 6.2. /ਇਕ ਦਸਤੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਚਿਟ/ ‘a hand written note’ is an example of a numeral /ਇਕ/ ‘one’ preceeding a VP modifier /ਦਸਤੀ ਲਿਖੀ/ ‘hand written’.

16. ਇਹ ਖੁਸ਼ ਹਨ ,ਬੜੇ ਖੁਸ਼, ਜਿਕਰ ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਕਿਰਨਾ
Pr A A A Adv A N
NP AP VP AP NP
ਚੁੰਮਿਆ ਕੰਵਲ।
V N
(gs-9)

‘She is happy, very happy, as the golden-rays-kissed lotus’.

/ਬੜੇ ਖੁਸ਼/ ‘very happy’ is an AP consisting of two adjectives, see 6.5.1. /ਜਿਕਰ ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਕਿਰਨਾ ਚੁੰਮਿਆ ਕੰਵਲ/ is a loosely attached modifier of /ਬੜੇ ਖੁਸ਼/.

17. ਇਹ ਹੈ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਰਜ਼, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਮੈਂ ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ
Pr E Pr N Crd P Pr Adv N
NP NP AP NP PP PP
ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਹਾਂ।
N
NP VP
(m-78)

‘This is my disease, which has afflicated me now’.
(Let. : ‘This is my disease, of which I now am a target’.

/ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਮੈਂ ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਹਾਂ/ is a clause modifying /ਮਰਜ਼/ ‘disease’. /ਜਿਸ ਦਾ/ ‘of which’ is an AP which must be construed as properly a modifier of /ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ/ ‘target’, but removed and placed at a distance from the latter because phrase with /ਜਿਸ/ must be initial in the clause, see chapter 10. /ਐਸ/ ‘now’ and /ਵੇਲੇ/ ‘at the time’ are two PPs in apposition and forming one complex PP /ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ/ ‘now at this time’.

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18. ਦੀਨੇ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਸੁੰਨ ਹੋਈ ਖੜ੍ਹੀ ਸੀ,
N P N
NP VP VP
ਅੱਖਾਂ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਲਬ ਬੰਦ।
N V C N A
AP (SS-88)

'Dina's mother was numb open eyes and closed lips'.

/ਅੱਖਾਂ ਖੁਲ੍ਹਿਆਂ/ 'eyes opened' and /ਲਬ ਬੰਦ/ 'lips closed' are APs joined by /ਤੇ/ 'and' to form one complex AP. It is not clear whether this should be treated as a modifier of /ਮਾਂ/ 'mother' in the NP, or as a loosely connected construction.

19. ਬਕਲੋਹ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਛੌਣੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ,
N P P Num N VP
PP NP (R)
ਬੜੀ ਵੱਡੀ।
A A
AP

'There was a cantonement in Bakloh, a very big one'.

/ਬਕਲੋਹ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ/ 'in Bakloh' is an example of PP with /ਦੇ/ before the postposition. /ਬੜੀ ਵੱਡੀ/ 'very large', is an AP modifying /ਛੌਣੀ/ 'cantonement', but removed to post-verb position for emphasis, see 9.1.

20. ਸੁਹਣਾ ਨਰੋਇਆ ਸਰੀਰ, ਵਰਜਿਸ਼ ਤੇ ਮਿਹਨਤ ਤੇ
A A N N C N C
NP AP
ਲਗਨ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਂਭਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ।
N P VP

'A beautiful healthy body, preserved by exercise, hardwork, and attention……'

/ਸੁਹਣਾ ਨਰੋਇਆ ਸਰੀਰ/ 'a beautiful healthy body' contains a pair of associated adjectives /ਸੁਹਣਾ/ 'beautiful' and /ਨਰੋਇਆ/ 'healthy' which are closely parallel and are probably best considered as forming a loose compound, see 6.3.10. The AP has a VP for head, /ਸਾਂਭਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ/ 'preserved', and a PP modifier, /ਵਰਜਿਸ਼ ਤੇ ਮਿਹਨਤ ਤੇ ਲਗਨ ਨਾਲ/ 'by exercise, hard work, and attention'. The latter contains three nouns joined by /ਤੇ/ 'and', /ਵਰਜਿਸ਼/ 'exercise', /ਮਿਹਨਤ/ 'hard work', and /ਲਗਨ/ 'attention'. These are jointly constructed with /ਨਾਲ/ 'with', 'by means of '. This AP is related to /ਸਰੀਰ/ 'body'. An alternative construction would be of the form /ਵਰਜਿਸ਼ ਤੇ ਮਿਹਨਤ ਤੇ ਲਗਨ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਂਭਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ

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ਸਰੀਰ/ in which the AP would be a modifier of /ਸਰੀਰ/. In the sentence as it stands, the AP may still be considered as a modifier of /ਸਰੀਰ/ displaced as mentioned in 6.4.5.

21. ਇਹ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ, ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਭਰਾ ਦਾ, ਜੋ
Pr N N P A N P Crd
NP NP NP
ਕਈ ਸਾਲ ਦਾ ਪਰਲੋਕ ਗਮਨ ਕਰ
A N P N
AP PP VP
ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਪੋਤਾ, ਸੀ।
N
VP (ss-118)

'This young man was a grand son of Baba's elder brother who had died several years ago'.

/ਇਹ ਨੌਜੁਆਨ/ 'this young man' is an example of a deictic pronoun modifying a noun. Most of the rest of the sentence is one long and involved NP. Included is a relative clause /ਜੋ ਕਈ ਸਾਲ ਦਾ ਪਰਲੋਕ ਗਮਨ ਕਰ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ/ 'who had died several years ago'. This modifies /ਭਰਾ/ 'brother', and follows it as closely as possible. /ਦਾ/, however, cannot be separated from the noun with which it is constructed, so the clause follows the postposition rather than the noun it modifies. With the clause deleted, the NP would be:

ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਭਰਾ ਦਾ ਪੋਤਾ
N P A N P N

'grand son of baba's elder brother'.

Here is an example of a /ਦਾ/ phrase and an adjective modifying the same noun, the phrase preceding. It is also an example of a /ਦਾ/ phrase within a /ਦਾ/ phrase.

22. ਇਹ ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਆਸਾਂ ਦਾ ਚੰਨ ਏ।
Pr Pr N P N
NP NP VP
(gs-13)

'It is the moon of my longings'.

/ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਆਸਾਂ/ 'my longings' is an example of a genitive pronoun modifying a noun in the feminine plural oblique.

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23. ਨਵੰਬਰ ਉੱਨੀ ਸੌ ਅਠਾਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ, ਜੰਗ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਮਾਨੇ
N Num Num Num P N P N
PP PP

ਤੋਂ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਇਕ ਬੜੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਬਿਮਾਰੀ ਪਈ।
P P Num A A N
Np VP

(S-93)

'In November 1918, after the war was over, there was a big epidemic'.

In the first PP, /ਨਵੰਬਰ/ 'November', a noun, and /ਉੱਨੀ ਸੌ ਅਠਾਰਾਂ/ '1918' a numeral phrase here used as a noun are in an apposition-like construction characteristic of dates, and together are constructed with the postposition /ਵਿਚ/ 'in'. /ਜੰਗ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਮਾਨੇ/ 'time of war' is followed by an ablative postposition /ਪਿੱਛੋਂ/ 'after'. Between the two is an optional /ਤੋਂ/ 'from', see 6.10. /ਬਿਮਾਰੀ/ 'sickness' has two modifiers, the numeral /ਇਕ/ 'one' and /ਬੜੀਵੱਡੀ/ 'very large'. The latter consists of two adjectives, the first modifying the second, see 6.5.

24. ਸੁਹਣੇ ਇਨਸਾਨ ਦੇ ਸੁਹਣੇ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਨਾਲੋਂ
A N P A N P
NP
ਕੋਈ ਸੁਹਣੀ ਚੀਜ਼ ਨਾ ਵੇਖੀ ਨਾ ਸੋਚੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ।
A A N Neg V Neg
VP

(gs-117)

'A more beautiful thing than a keen mind of a graceful man is neither seen nor thought of '.

/ਚੀਜ਼/ 'thing' has two modifiers, /ਕੋਈ/ 'some' and /ਸੁਹਣੇ ਇਨਸਾਨ ਦੇ ਸੋਹਣੇ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਨਾਲੋਂ…….ਸੁਹਣੀ/ 'more beautiful than the beautiful mind of a beautiful man'. /ਕੋਈ/ is a pronoun and so precedes adjective modifiers. The long PP modifier of /ਸੋਹਣੀ/, however, cannot easily be put between /ਕੋਈ/ and /ਸੁਹਣੀ/ and so is placed before the whole, making the adjective phrase discontinuous.

25. ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਤਿੰਨ ਕੁ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਵੱਡਾ ਏ।
Pr P Num N A
AP VP

(sc-47)

'He is older than him by about three years'.

Most of this sentence is one AP having a head adjective /ਵੱਡਾ/ 'large', 'old', and two modifiers. /ਇਸ ਤੋਂ/ 'than he' and /ਤਿੰਨ ਕੁ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ/ 'by about three years'. The latter is an NP having an oblique head noun /ਵਰ੍ਹੇ/ 'years' and numeral phrase modifier /ਤਿੰਨ ਕੁ/ 'about three'.

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26. ਇਸ ਮੇਰੀ ਧੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਹੋ ਚਲੇ
Pr Pr N P Num N
NP PP VP
ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਘਰ ਗਈ ਨੂੰ।
VP P
NP (SI-45)

'It is going to be five years since my daughter left for her home'.

A more literary order for this very colloquial sentence would be:

ਇਸ ਮੇਰੀ ਧੀ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਘਰ ਗਈ ਨੂੰ
NP
ਪੰਜ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਹੋ ਚਲੇ ਨੇ।
PP V

The two separted parts of the NP, are each marked with /ਨੂੰ/. The construction of interest at this point is the sequence of two pronouns. /ਇਸ/ 'this' and /ਮੇਰੀ/ 'my' both modifying /ਧੀ/ 'daughter', see 6.4.3.

27. ਕਿਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਤਾਰ ਜਾਂ ਲੈਂਪ ਦਾ ਖੰਭਾ
Adv A N C N P N
PP NP
ਜਾਂ ਬਿਰਛ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਕੋਇਟੇ ਦਾ ਸਾਬਤ ਨਕਸ਼ ਦਿਸਦਾ
C N A N P A N VP
NP
ਸੀ। (gs-118)

'Here and there some wire or lamp-pole or tree gave an impression of the earlier Quetta [from a description of an earthquake].

Three noun phrases /ਕੋਈ ਤਾਰ/ 'some wire', /ਲੈਂਪ ਦਾ ਖੰਭਾ/ 'pole of lamp', and /ਬਿਰਛ/ 'tree' or joined by /ਜਾਂ/ 'or' into a complex NP, which is the sentence subject. The verb agrees with /ਬਿਰਛ/ (masculine), not with /ਤਾਰ/ (feminine). The occurrence of an adjective modifier /ਪਹਿਲੇ/ 'first' with a proper noun /ਕੋਇਟੇ/ 'Quetta' is unusual and rather specialized.

28. ਏਦੂੰ ਮਿੱਠਾ ਚੰਨ ਮੈ ਕਦੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ
V A N Pr Adv V
AP VP
ਵੇਖਿਆ। (g-109)

'I had never seen a sweeter rising moon than this one'.

The NP consists of a noun /ਚੰਨ/ 'moon' and a modifier /ਏਦੂੰ ਮਿੱਠਾ/ 'sweeter than this'. The latter is equivalent to /ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਮਿੱਠਾ/।

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CHAPTER 7

VERB PHRASES

7.1 SCOPE AND CLASSIFICATION

We treat in this chapter phrases constructed around verbs, auxiliaries, the negators /ਨਹੀਂ/ and /ਨਾਂ/, and certain other elements, always having either a verb or an auxiliary as a prominent and controlling member. Some of these verbal phrases function in or as nominal phrases, and certain aspects of their grammar are treated in chapter 6. Their internal structure, however, is described here.

The simplest verb phrase consists of only an auxiliary. All auxiliaries can be so used, see 5.14.

ਇਹ	ਚੰਗਾ	ਏ।	‘He is good’.
NP	AP	VP	

For further examples, see 6.11, sentences 3, 5, 7, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25 and many of the sentences to follow.

Most verb phrases are composed of two or more elements. For our purpose, we will describe them as typically composed of the following two major constituents:

(1) A phrase base, consisting of a verb stem with or without various preceding elements-other verb forms, adjectives, nouns etc. A verbal phrase base may contain within it a catenative element and a smaller verbal phrase base, see 7.3.

(2) A verbal phrase marker, consisting of a verbal desinence (a suffix or a complex of suffixes, as in the future) with or without an auxiliary or a negator. Except when a negator is included, the phrase marker follows the phrase base. In the following examples, the phrase base and the phrase are separated by a slash.

ਉਹ ਪੀ-/- ਂਦਾ ਆ	‘He is drinking’
ਉਹਨੇ ਵਾਹ ਲ-/- ਇਆ ਆ	‘He ploughed’
ਉਹ ਜਾਣ- /-ਏਗਾ	‘He will know’

Phrase bases are of several kinds:

(1) Single verb stems simple or causative, and including most of the verb stems that are described below as having special functions.

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ਮੈ ਜਾ-/- ਂਦਾ ਆਂ ‘I am going’

(2) Certain constructions consisting of a noun or an adjective and a verb stem. The verb stems involved are from a limited list of specialized stems; the noun or adjective elements are much more diverse. The combinations often require lexical treatment as units, and are all more or less conventionalized, for details, see 7.2. These are called ‘conjunct verbs’.

ਮੈਂ ਉਹਨੂੰ ਪਿਆਰ ਕਰਦਾ/- ਆਂ‘I love her’, (/ਪਿਆਰ/ is a noun meaning ‘love’ /ਕਰ/ is a verb stem, in isolation typically meaning ‘do’. The combination /ਪਿਆਰ ਕਰ/ is not wholly predictable, and should be treated as a lexical unit.)

(3) A verb stem or a conjunct verb base followed by a catenative. Catenative, consists of a verb stem from a restricted list and a preceding verb ending or specified lack of a verb ending. Catenative in general combine freely with verb bases of the two types mentioned. The meaning can usually be easily predicted from the meaning of the included phrase base and that of the catenative. There are, however, some fairly stringent restrictions in a few instances as to the phrase markers that can follow certain catenatives. See 7.3.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ-/-ਨ ਲਗ-/ ਆ ਆਂ
‘I am going to begin to work’

Many catenatives contain verb stems that can be used in other constructions, usually with other meanings. For example, /ਲਗ/ is not frequent as a main verb stem, but can be so used. In this case it means something like ‘be’.

(4) A verb stem not ordinarily any longer phrase base followed by a reinforcing unit. The latter consists of a verb stem from a restricted list and a preceding verb ending or specified lack of a verb ending. A very large number of verbs enter these constructions as first members, but the combinations are not predictable by general rule, and must be listed. The meanings of the combinations bear little if any relation to the meaning of the second element when the latter is used alone, but generally differ from that of the first element only by some kind of strengthening. Both the patterns and the meanings must be learned as units, and the combinations should be given separate treatment in a complete lexicon. See 7.4.

ਉਹਨੇ ਖਾ ਲਿਆ ਏ ‘He has eaten’.
ਉਹਨੇ ਖਾਧਾ ਏ ‘He has eaten’.

(5) Certain compounds consisting of two verb stems, generally of very similar or nearly synonymous meanings, or one and echo of the other. These are very largely restricted in use to certain types of verbal phrases only. See 7.5.

Phrase markers are of three kinds, associated with three types of verbal phrases. The latter are as follows:

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(1) Serving as the main phrase of the clause. We will designate these 'main verbal phrases' and abbreviate as mvp. The phrase markers are described in 7.6.

(2) Serving as subsidiary sentence elements, but not in functions normally discaharged by any type of nominal phrase. We will designate these as 'subordinate verbal phrases', and abbreviate as sVP. The phrase markers are described in 7.7.

(3) Serving as elements within nominal phrases, or as equivalent to one type of nominal phrase, the adjective phrase. We will designate these adjectival verb phrases, abbreviated aVP, or nominal verbal phrases, abbreviated nVP. The phrase markers are described in 7.8.

7.2 CONJUNCT VERBS

Conjunct verbs consist of a verb stem and a preceding noun or adjective. The verb stems are from a short list. Three are very common. /ਕਰ/ 'do', /ਦੇ/ 'give', and /ਲੈ/ 'take'. The glosses, however, are of little significance, since the meanings of the combinations are not always predictable from the meanings of the parts. The first element in some conjunct verbs is not known in any other use except in the verb phrase. In other instances, the first element can also be used in typical noun or adjective positions. The following are examples:

ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰ-	'cooking'	(See 6.11, S.1)
ਚਮਕ ਰਹਿ-	'shining'	(See 6.11, S.2)
ਗਮਨ ਕਰ-	'go'	(See 6.11, S.21)
ਯਾਦ ਕਰ-	'remember'	
ਵਿਦਿਆ ਦੇ-	'educate'	
ਧੋਖਾ ਦੇ-	'deceive'	
ਵਾਹ ਲੈ-	'plough'	

The following sentences include conjunct verbs of the sort where the meaning and form are not closely related.

29. ਬੀਰੋ ਨੇ ਦੰਦ ਕਢਦਿਆਂ ਧੰਤੋ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਖ ਮਾਰੀ
NP aVP NP VP

(K-47)

'Bhiro, laughing, winked at Dhanto'.

/ਦੰਦ ਕਢਦਿਆਂ/ 'showing her teeth' i.e. 'laughing', is a conjunct verb consisting of /ਦੰਦ/ 'teeth', and /ਕਢ-/ 'take out'. /ਅੱਖ ਮਾਰੀ/ 'winked' a conjunct verb consisting of /ਅੱਖ/ 'eye' and /ਮਾਰ.../ 'strike'.

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30. ਸਾਡੀ ਕਿਸਮਤ ਵੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਦਿਨ ਪਲਟਾ ਖਾਏਗੀ
NP E PP VP

(g-131)

'Maybe, our fate will also change some day'.

/ਪਲਟਾ ਖਾਏਗੀ/ is a conjunct verb consisting of /ਪਲਟਾ/ 'a turning' and /ਖਾ-/ 'eat'. The combination means 'change'.

7.3 CATENATIVES

Catenatives are basically certain specialized verb stems which are most commonly used following other verbal phrase bases. Some of these verb stems are used following more than one form of the preceding verb. When this occurs, each construction has a different meaning or use. It is, therefore, best to consider the grammatical unit as consisting of the verb stem and the preceding verb ending, if any, and if there is none, as including the specification that there is none. We will indicate the latter situation-i.e. that the base stem form of the preceding verb is used, by the symbol /-/.

1) /-/ਸਕ-/ 'be able'
ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ ਆਂ 'I can work'.

31. ਜੋ ਰੱਬ ਇਤਨੀਆਂ ਸਦੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ
NP PP VP
ਆਦਮੀ ਕੁਝ ਦੇਰ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਹੀ ਢਾਹ ਸਕਣਗੇ
NP VP E VP (ss-139)

'What God has been doing for so many centuries, it will take some time before man will be able to destroy it'.

/ਢਾਹ/ is the base stem of the causative of /ਢਹਿ/ 'to fall down'. /ਸਕ-/ is here with a future desinence as its phrase marker. Note also the first VP, an example of a complex phrase base /ਕਰਦਾ ਆ-/, see 7.4.

2) /-ਣ/ ਲਗ-/ 'begin'
ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨ ਲੱਗਾ ਆਂ 'I am going to begin to work'.

32. ਅਤੇ ਉਹ ਉੱਦਮ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਕਰਨ ਲੱਗੇ।
C NP PP VP

(gd-56)

'And they began to discuss how to get started'.

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3) /-/ਰਹਿ-/ ‘to be in the process of ’, a rather weak construction meaning little more than the English ‘be…..ing’ construction. This is a very common phrase pattern.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਆਂ ‘I am working’

33. ਰੱਬੀ ਚੱਕਰ ਤੇ ਚੜ੍ਹੀ, ਕੁਦਰਤ ਸੁੰਦਰਤਾ ਵਿਚ ਢਲ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ।
NP PP VP

(g-120)

‘Nature riding on the divine wheel, is moulding herself into eternal beauty’.

/ਢਲ/ ‘mould’ is the base stem before /ਰਹਿ-/. /ਢਲ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ/ ‘is moulding’ /ਰੱਬੀ ਚੱਕਰ ਤੇ ਚੜ੍ਹੀ/ ‘riding on the divine wheel’ is an avP modifying /ਕੁਦਰਤ/ nature’. For an additional example see 6.11, sentence 1.

4) /-ਣਾ ਚਾਹ/‘want’.
ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁਣਾ ਆਂ‘I want to work’.

34. ਉਹ ਉਡ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਿਉ ਦੇ ਘਰ
NP SVP NP
ਬਿਲਾਸਪੁਰ, ਜੋ ਲੋਧੀਆਬਾਦ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਿਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਸੀ,
Crd PP mVP
ਪੁਜ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ।
mVP

‘She wanted to fly over to her parent's home which was in Bilaspur in the district of Lodhiabad’.

/ਪੁਜ/ ‘reach’ is a bare stem before a reinforcer /ਜਾ-/, /ਣਾ ਚਾਹ-/ in the optative is used to mean ‘ought’. See sentences 65, 66 in 7.6.

5) /-/ਲੈ-/ ‘finish’
ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ‘I finished working’.

35. ਉਸ ਨੇ ਨੂਰ ਬੀਬੀ ਨਾਲ ਗਲ ਨੂੰ ਖੋਹਲਣ
NP PP NP
ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ।
VP

‘He decided to talk the matter over with Nur Bibi’.

(Lit, ‘He finished making the decision to open the matter with Nur Bibi’).

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For an additional example see 7.6, sentence 71.

36. ਸਾਢੇ ਦਸ ਵਜੇ ਤੀਕ ਉਸ ਸਾਰਾ ਕੰਮ
PP NP NP
ਟਿਚਨ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ।
VP (n-120)

'By half past ten, she had finished all her work'.

/ਟਿਚਨ ਕਰ/ is a conjunct verb meaning something like 'do it just right'. /ਟਿਚਨ/ does not ordinarily occur outside this combination.

6) /-ਚੁਕ-/ 'complete'
ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਸਾਂ। 'I had finished working'.

37. ਇਸੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਨੂੰ ਉਹ ਹੁਣ ਤੀਕ ਕਈ ਵਾਰੀ
NP NP PP PP
ਦੁਹਰਾ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਸੀ।
UP
(nsa-79)

'Uptill now he had repeated this question several times'.

38. ਇਸ ਗਲ ਦਾ ਤਾਪੀ ਨੂੰ ਹੁਣ ਚੰਗੀ
AP NP PP NP
ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਸੀ।
NP VP (k-55)

'Now Tapi was confirmed in her befief about this matter'.

The second sentence with /ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ/ would indicate an appreciably less strong conviction.

7) /-ਬਹਿ-/ 'finish', happen to do', only the discourse context will determine which of the two meaning applies.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਬੈਠਾ। 'I happened to do it'.
'I finished working'.

39. ਏਸੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਜ ਉਹ ਰੋਜ਼ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਸਵਖਤੇ
SVP PP NP PP
ਉਠ ਬੈਠੀ
VP
(ns-119)

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‘For this very reason she woke up earlier than usual today’.

8) /-ਣ ਦੇ-/ ‘allow’
ਮੈਂ ਉਹਨੂੰ ਕਰਨ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ‘I let him do’.

40. ਬਾਬਾ ਇਸ ਘਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਵੜਨ ਦੇ।
Voc PP NP VP

(k-41)

‘Baba, let me get into this mud’.

The phrase base is /ਵੜ-/ ‘enter’, /ਚ/ is a shortened form of /ਵਿਚ/ ‘in’.

41. ਉਸ ਨੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਵਿੱਦਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਪਿੰਡ ਨਾ
NP NP PP VP
ਵੜਨ ਦਿਤਾ।

(ss-91)

‘He did not let British education enter the village’.

For an additional example see 7.6 sentence 74.

9) /-ਇਆ ਕਰ-/‘frequently and repeatedly’.
ਮੈਂ ਓਥੇ ਬੈਠਿਆ ਕਰਦਾ ਸਾਂ। ‘I often used to sit there’.

42. ਆਪਾਂ ਓਦੋਂ ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ ਦੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿਚ
NP PP PP
ਪੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਾਂ।
VP

(m-117)

‘In those days I was studying at Khalsa School of Ludhiana’.

/ਆਪਾਂ/ ‘I’ is a very colloquial alternant of /ਮੈਂ/.

10) /-ਦਾ ਹੋ-/ with perfective auxiliary, ‘used to’ often with an implication that the activity is no longer being done.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਸਾਂ। ‘I used to work’.

43. ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਉਹ ਕਦੇ ਕਦਾਈਂ ਹੀ ਨ੍ਹਾਉਂਦੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ।
PP NP PP VP

(ns-119)

‘Before this, she used to take a bath very rarely’.

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With an imperfective auxiliary, the meaning is more often ‘be continually involved in’. Very often the context makes clear that past time is intended.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੁੰਨਾ ਆਂ। ‘I am working steadily’.

The constructions with /-ਦਾ ਹੋ-/ are very much dependent for their meanings on the context, and there are considerable contextual restrictions on their use.

11) /-ਣਾ ਪੈ-/ ‘have to’. In the second person this is used as the strongest possible imperative. Note the use of /ਨੂੰ/.

ਮੈਨੂੰ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨਾ ਪੈਣਾ। ‘I will have to work’.
ਤੈਨੂੰ ਜਾਣਾ ਪੈਣਾ। ‘You must go’.

The verb preceding /ਪੈ-/ always has emphatic intention. It is frequently accompanied by emphatic particles. /ਈ/ precedes /ਪੈ-/ if there is no auxiliary, but may follow if there is an auxiliary.

ਤੈਨੂੰ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੀ ਪੈਣਾ। ‘You (really) must go’.
ਉਹਨੂੰ ਪੜ੍ਹਣਾ ਪੈਂਦਾ ਈ ਸੀ। ‘He (really) had to study’.

44.	ਉਸ	ਲਈ	ਅਜੇ	ਤੈਨੂੰ	ਹੋਰ	ਕੁਝ	ਚਿਰ	ਉਡੀਕਣਾ
	PP		PP	NP	PP	PP		VP
	ਪਵੇਗਾ।							(ns-202)

‘You will have to wait for that a little more’.

12) /-ਦਾ ਪੈ-/ and /-ਇਆ ਪੈ-/, only used when /ਪੈ-/ is past and followed by an auxiliary, merely emphasizes the fact. The preceding verb stem always has emphatic intonation. In many respects /ਪਿਆ/ is like an emphatic particle, and the meaning of the whole is very little different from that of a similar expression with /ਪਿਆ/ dropped out, except for the added emphasis e.g., compare /ਕਰਦਾ ਪਿਆ ਸੀ/ with /ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ/.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਪਿਆ ਸੀ ‘Indeed, I was working’.

See /ਤੁਲ ਪਿਆ ਸੀ/ ‘indeed he was determined’, in sentence 9, section 6.11.

13) /-ਣ ਡੈਹਾ-/, Only in forms comparable to /ਡਿਆ ਸੀ/ and /ਡਿਹਾ ਸੀ/, emphasizes the fact much as does /ਪਿਆ/, and in addition suggests that the act was actually witnessed. The construction is very colloquial, and can be considered as a somewhat stronger variant of number 12. The preceding verb always takes emphatic intonation.

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ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨ ਡਿਆ ਸਾਂ। 'I sure was working'.
ਉਹ ਪੜ੍ਹਣ ਡਿਹਾ ਸੀ। 'He was studying'.

14) /-ਦਾ ਰਹਿ-/ 'Continue', much stronger than number 3, /-/ਰਹਿ-/.

ਮੈਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ। 'I went on working'.

45. ਡਾਕਟਰ ਪੰਜ ਕੁ ਮਿੰਟ ਪਰਦੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਸੱਤਿਆ ਨੂੰ
NP PP PP NP
ਦੇਖਦੀ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ।
VP

(sl-47)

'The lady doctor looks at Sattia behind the curtain for about five minutes'.

46. ਖਿੜਕੀ ਵਿਚ ਖਲੋਤੀ ਉਹ ਕਿਤਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਕੰਬਦੀ ਰਹੀ।
AvP NP PP mVP

(d-34)

'She stood shivering in the window for a long time'.

/ਖਿੜਕੀ ਵਿਚ ਖਲੋਤੀ/ 'standing in the window'. /ਕੰਬ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ/ 'was shivering' would not be possible in this context with /ਕਿਤਨਾ ਚਿਰ/ 'so late', i.e. 'for a long time' but /ਕੰਬਦੀ ਰਹੀ/ with much the same translation but with an implication of duration is appropriate.

15) /-/ਜਾ-/ and /-ਇਆ ਜਾ/ 'passive' but only when the /ਜਾ-/ is in the past from /ਗਿਆ/ etc.

ਇਹ ਕੰਮ ਉਹਦੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ।'He happened to do this work'.

47. ਕਿਸੇ ਦਿਨ ਫੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ।
PP VP

(m-38)

'One day he was caught'.

For additional examples, see 6.11. In sentence 13 /ਘਟ ਗਈ ਸੀ/ 'was lessened'. In sentence 24 /ਨਾ ਵੇਖੀ ਨਾ ਸੁਣੀ ਗਈ/ 'is neither seen nor thought of '.

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There are many more of these catenative combinations. The following table gives the forms:

	Preceding Ending						
ਸਕ-	ਣ -	ੜ -	ਨ -	ਨੋ -	ਦਾ -	ਦਿਆਂ -	ਇਆਂ
	x						
ਲਗ-		x					
ਹੋ-					x	x	x
ਪੈ-	x		x		x		x
ਰਹਿ-	x			x	x		
ਬਹਿ-	x	x		x			
ਕਰ-							x
ਲੈ-	x		x				
ਦੇ-	x						
ਛੱਡ-	x						
ਜਾ-	x	x		x	x	x	x
ਪਾ-	x						
ਰਖ-	x	x		x		x	
ਘਟ-	x						
ਚਾਹ-		x					
ਚੁਕ-	x						
ਢਹਿ-		x					

7.4 REINFORCES

A limited list of verbs, essentially the same as those found in conjunct verbs, can follow other verb stems forming complex verb phrase bases. The following are the commonest verb stems used as reinforcers. They are given with glosses indicating their meaning when used in other constructions. As reinforcers their function is essentially to strengthen the meaning of the preceding verb stems, and these reinforcing verbs contribute very little specific meaning to the whole.

ਦੇ-	‘give’	ਸੁੱਟ-	‘throw’
ਛੱਡ-	‘leave’	ਰੱਖ-	‘keep’
ਜਾ-	‘go’	ਚਲ-	‘go’
ਪਾ-	‘put’	ਘੱਤ-	‘force’

Before these reinforcing verbs the bare stem is most commonly used. However, in certain combinations the simple infinitive or the conditional infinitive may be found.

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The following are examples of verb phrases containing reinforcers.

ਚੜ੍ਹ ਜਾ-	'climb up'	
from ਚੜ੍ਹ-	'climb'	(See 6.11, 5.10)

The combinations of verb stems and reinforcers which occur are not easily predictable, and must be treated as complex lexical units. The following table, showing the combinations occurring between 100 common verbs and 7 of the commonest reinforcers will give some idea of the situation. This table was carefully checked against ten informants, all native speakers of Majhi. They showed remarkably close agreement, but no simple pattern is discernible.

		ਦੇ-	ਛੱਡ-	ਜਾ-	ਪਾ-	ਸੁੱਟ-	ਰੱਖ-	ਘੱਤ-
ਉਣ	'knit'	x	x			x		x
ਉਕ	'miss'			x				
ਉਡ	'fly'			x	x			
ਉਡੀਕ	'wait'		x	x				
ਉਗ	'sprout'		x	x	x			
ਉਠ	'stand'		x	x	x			
ਆਖ	'say'	x	x	x		x		
ਪੂਰ	'fill'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਪੂੰਝ	'wipe'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਪੈਂ	'lie'							
ਭੰਨ	'break'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਪੀ	'drink'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਭੁੰਨ	'roast'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਭੁਲ	'forget'		x	x				
ਪੀਹ	'grind'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਤੋੜ	'break'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ਤਰ	'swim'		x	x	x			
ਤਾੜ	'snub'	x	x	x			x	x
ਧੂਹ	'pull'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਤਾ	'heat'	x	x	x			x	
ਧਕ	'push'	x	x	x	x	x	x	
ਤਲ	'fry'	x	x	x			x	
ਤਾਣ	'spread'	x	x	x			x	
ਤੋਲ	'weight'	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਕੂ	'speak'				x			
ਕੁਤਰ	'cut'	x	x	x		x	x	x

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		ਦੇ-	ਛੱਡ-	ਜਾ-	ਪਾ-	ਸੁੱਟ-	ਰੱਖ-	ਘੱਤ-
ਕੱਸ	‘tighten’	x	x	x			x	x
ਘੂਰ	‘rebuke’		x					
ਘਲ	‘send’	x	x	x		x		
ਕਹਿ	‘say’	x	x	x		x		
ਕਜ	‘cover’	x	x	x			x	
ਕਰ	‘do’	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਕਾਹੜ	‘boil’	x	x	x			x	
ਕੇਰ	‘pour’	x	x	x				
ਕੁਟ	‘beat’	x	x	x		x		x
ਘੜ	‘chisel’	x	x	x		x	x	
ਘੋਲ	‘mix’	x	x	x	x			
ਕੂਚ	‘brush’	x	x	x		x	x	
ਬੋਲ	‘speak’	x	x	x	x			
ਬੀਜ	‘sow’	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਬਚ	‘careful’			x	x			
ਬਣ	‘be’		x	x	x			
ਬਹਿ	‘sit’		x	x				
ਬੋਚ	‘catch’			x				
ਬਾਲ	‘burn’	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਦੇਹ	‘give’		x	x			x	
ਦਲ	‘grind’	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ਦਸ	‘tell’	x	x	x				
ਡੋਲ	‘waver’			x	x			
ਡੋਬ	‘drown’	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਡਿਗ	‘fall’				x			
ਡਸ	‘sting’			x				
ਡਰ	‘fear’			x	x			
ਡਕ	‘stop’	x	x	x			x	
ਝਾੜ	‘snub’	x	x	x			x	
ਜੋਖ	‘weigh’	x	x	x		x		
ਜੋ	‘hitch’	x	x	x			x	
ਜਪ	‘recite’		x	x			x	
ਜੋੜ	‘join’	x	x	x		x	x	x
ਜਾਂਚ	‘examine’	x	x	x			x	
ਜਾਗ	‘wake’				x			
ਜਲਾ	‘lighten’			x	x			
ਜਾਹ	‘go’		x		x			
ਜਾਣ	‘know’		x					

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		ਦੇ-	ਛੱਡ-		ਜਾ-	ਪਾ-	ਸੁੱਟ-	ਰੱਖ-	ਘੱਤ-
ਜਰ	‘bear’	x	x		x				
ਜੀਰ	‘absorb’				x				
ਜਿਤ	‘win’	x	x		x		x	x	
ਗੌਂ	‘sing’	x	x		x				
ਟਪ	‘jump’	x	x		x	x			
ਢਾਹ	‘demolish’	xx		x			x		
ਢਾਲ	‘melt’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਢੋ	‘carry’	x	x		x		x		x
ਟੁਕ	‘cut’	x	x		x		x		x
ਟਾਲ	‘evade’	x	x		x		x	x	
ਟਿਕ	‘rest’		x		x	x			
ਚੂਪ	‘suck’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਝੂਰ	‘grieve’		x		x	x			
ਝਾੜ	‘sweep’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਝਾਕ	‘peep’	x	x		x				
ਝਸ	‘rub’	x	x		x				
ਚੰਡ	‘sharpen’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਚਰ	‘graze’		x		x		x		x
ਚੋ	‘milk’	x	x		x	x			
ਚੀਕ	‘cry’		x		x	x			
ਚੋਭ	‘pierce’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਚੁਗ	‘peck’	x	x		x				x
ਝਲ	‘suffer’	x	x		x				
ਝੂਲ	‘swing’		x		x	x			
ਝਕ	‘hesitate’					x			
ਫੇਰ	‘move’	x	x		x		x		
ਫੂਕ	‘burn’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਥੁਕ	‘spit’	x	x		x		x		
ਥਿੜਕ	‘slip’				x	x			
ਠੋਕ	‘fix’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਠੇਕ	‘print’	x	x		x		x	x	x
ਛਿਲ	‘peal’	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
ਛੇੜ	‘chase’	x	x		x				
ਖਾਹ	‘eat’	x	x		x				
ਸੌਂ	‘sleep’	x	x		x				
ਸੁਣ	‘hear’	x	x		x	x		x	
Total occurrences V1 = 100.		68	85		91	28	42	44	33

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The following examples perhaps indicate as well as possible with isolated sentences some of the implications of reinforcement:

48. ਬੀਰੋ ਦੀ ਤਰਸਯੋਗ ਹਾਲਤ ਨੇ ਲਾਭੋ ਦਾ ਅੰਦਰ
NP NP
ਪਿਘਲਾ ਸੁਟਿਆ।
VP (k-97)

'Bhiro's miserable condition moved Labho (melted Labho's heart').

This is clearly intended to be a strong statement. As such /ਪਿਘਲਾ ਸੁਟਿਆ/ 'melted' is much more appropriate than /ਪਿਘਲਾਇਆ/ 'melted' through the actual difference of meaning is minute. /ਪਿਘਲਾਇਆ/ might perhaps be more appropriate were this a simple non-metaphorical statement of fact.

49. ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਸਲਾਹ ਹੋਈ ਸੁਨੇਹਾ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਓ।
NV VP NP VP
(k-41)

'Whatever you decide, send the message accordingly'.

The simple imperative /ਭੇਜੋ/ 'send' would be much less forceful.

50. ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਠੀਕ ਹੋ ਜਾਏਗੀ, ਤੇਰੀ ਧੀ, ਮਾਤਾ।
AP VP NP VOC
(sl-47)

'Mother, your daughter is going to be quite alright'.

/ਹੋਏਗੀ/ 'will become' will be grammatically quite acceptable but /ਹੋ ਜਾਏਗੀ/ with essentially the same meaning contributes to the desired affect of reassurance.

Rarely, /ਹੋ-/ may be a first member of a verb sequence in which the meaning is a strengthening of that of the second verb. This usage is dialectal and very restricted /ਹੋ ਉਠ-/ 'stand' from /ਉਠ-/ 'stand'. See, sentence 78, in 7.7.

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7.5 VERBAL COMPOUNDS

Certain compounds of two verb stems occur as phrase bases. These, however, are very restricted in their use, occurring only in subordinate verbal phrases with /ਕੇ/ marker.

These are of three types:

(1) A verb stem iterated:

51. ਮੈਂ ਆਖ ਆਖ ਕੇ ਖੱਪ ਗਈ ਆਂ, ਬੇਬੇ।
NP SVP mNP Voc.
(ic-20)

'Mother, I am tired of asking him'.

/ਆਖ ਆਖ ਕੇ/ 'of asking' contained an iterated verb, /ਆਖ/ 'say', 'ask'.

52. ਉਸ ਨੇ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਅਸੀਲ ਕੁੱਕੜ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰ ਮਾਰ ਕੇ ਭਜਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ।
NP NP SVP mVP
(ss-90)

'He beat the other chicken badly'

/ਮਾਰ ਮਾਰ ਕੇ/ 'having beaten' /ਭਜਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ/ 'made run' causative of /ਭਜ-/ with reinforcer /ਦੇ-/. The context is a description of a fight between two chickens. One has attacked the other so savagely as to cause him to run.

(2) A pair of synonymous verbs or verbs of very similar meaning:

53. ਬਿਮਲਾ ਇਸ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਲੁਕ ਛਿਪ ਕੇ ਦੇਸ
NP PP sVP PP
ਦੇ ਇਕ ਕੋਨੇ ਤੋਂ ਦੂਜੇ ਕੋਨੇ ਵਿਚ ਫਿਰਦੀ ਰਹੀ।
mVP
(ss-193)

'Bimla, during this period moved about secretly from one end of the country to the other:

/ਲੁਕ ਛਿਪ ਕੇ/ 'secretly' contains a two-word compound of the verb stems /ਲੁਕ/ 'hide' and /ਛਿਪ/ 'hide'.

(3) A verb stem followed by an echo form based on the verb stem. Usually the echo form involves a change of vowel. The following are examples, in every instance the

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meaning of the compound is essentially the same as that of the basic stem, and so only one gloss is given.

ਮੋੜ	'turn'	ਮੋੜ ਤੋੜ ਕੇ
ਤੋੜ	'break'	ਤੋੜ ਤਾੜ ਕੇ
ਮਾਰ	'kill'	ਮਾਰ ਮੂਰ ਕੇ
ਨਪ	'press'	ਨਪ ਨੁਪ ਕੇ
ਭੰਨ	'break'	ਭੰਨ ਭੁੰਨ ਕੇ
ਵਿੰਨ੍ਹ	'pierce'	ਵਿੰਨ੍ਹ ਵੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੇ
ਭੁੰਨ	'roast'	ਭੁੰਨ ਭੰਨ ਕੇ
ਸੁਣ	'hear'	ਸੁਣ ਸਣ ਕੇ
ਨਸ	'run'	ਨਸ ਨੁਸ ਕੇ
Compare:		ਨੱਸ ਭੱਜ ਕੇ

/ਨੱਸ ਭੱਜ/ is an example of the compound built of two near synonyms; the two stems /ਨੱਸ-/ and /ਭੱਜ-/ can both be glossed 'run'.

(4) Nominal Compounds of pairs of verb stems, with opposed meanings are sometimes used in conjunct verbal bases.

54. ਕੰਮ ਕਾਰ ਉਹਦਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ, ਆਵਾ ਜਾਈ ਲੱਗੀ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ
mVP mVP
ਸੀ। (m2-32)

'Though his work was mostly in Delhi, he was all the time coming and going'

/ਆਵਾ ਜਾਈ/ is nominal expression including the two verbal stems /ਆ-/ 'come' and /ਜਾ-/ 'go'. With /ਲਗ-/ it forms a conjunct verb 'be coming and going on the move'.

7.6 MAIN VERBAL PHRASES

The following table shows the combinations of elements which occur as phrase markers in positive main verbal phrases. Representative endings only have been shown. In every instance others are possible, see 5.16.

	Without auxiliary	With imperfective auxiliary	With perfective auxiliary
Present I	-ਨਾ -	ਨਾ ਆਂ	
II -	◌ੰਦਾ -	◌ੰਦਾ ਆਂ -	◌ੰਦਾ ਸਾਂ
Past	-ਇਆ -	ਇਆ ਸੀ -	ਇਆ ਸਾਂ
Future	-ਊਂਗਾ		

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Hortative	-ਵਾਂ		
Optative	-ਈਦਾ -	ਈਦਾ ਆ -	ਈਦਾ ਸੀ
Imperative	-ਓ		
Infinitive	-ਣਾ -	ਣਾ ਆਂ -	ਣਾ ਸੀ

The Future, Hortative, and Imperative do not occur with auxiliaries. The Present I does not occur with perfective auxiliaries, and it does not occur with third person subjects.

Phrases with the imperfective auxiliary are more formal than those without an auxiliary, when both occur. They also tend to be a bit more definite in their time reference. However, the general meaning is usually much the same.

Phrases with the perfective auxiliary have the same relation to some past point in time as those with the imperfective auxiliary have to the present.

Phrases with Present I tend to express a more immediate time than do those with present II. With first and second person subjects, Present I occurs more frequently than does Present II.

The infinitive is inflected for number and gender in these uses, see sentences 65, 66.

Negative main verbal phrases are in general parallel, except that /ਨਹੀਂ/ is added to the perfective auxiliary, or substituted for the imperfective. There is therefore no contrast between forms without auxiliary and those with imperfective auxiliary, giving fewer phrase patterns. Moreover, the /ਨਹੀਂ/ or /ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ/ precedes the verb stem bearing the desinence. The phrase markers are therefore discontinuous. The following table gives the possible combinations:

	Without auxiliary	With perfective auxiliary
Present II	ਨਹੀਂ.....ੰਦਾ	ਨਹੀ ਸੀ.....ੰਦਾ
Past	ਨਹੀਂ.....-ਇਆ	ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ.....-ਇਆ
Future	ਨਹੀਂ.....-ਊਗਾ	
Hortative	ਨਾ.....-ਵਾਂ	
Optative	ਨਹੀਂ.....-ਈਦਾ	ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ.....-ਈਦਾ
Imperative	ਨਾ.....-ਓ	
Infinitive	ਨਹੀਂ.....-ਣਾ	ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ.....ਣਾ

Note that the hortative and imperative use a different form of the negator, /ਨਾ/.

The present I is not used in negative constructions.

The following table gives brief paradigmatic examples of the various phrase markers. It also gives references to sentences illustrating them further. Numbers 55-75 are subjoined. 1-28 are in 6.11. 29-54 are earlier in this chapter. 76-88 are later in this chapter. Those beyond 89 are in later chapters.

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See sentences:

Present I :		
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਨਾ	‘I am going’	55
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਨਾ ਆਂ	‘I am going’	56,57
Present II :		
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ	‘I am going’	54, 110, 129
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਆਂ	‘I am going’	10, 45, 91
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸਾਂ	‘I was going’	19, 27, 54
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ	‘I am not going’	58, 80, 82
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਾਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ	‘I was not going’	59.
Past :		
ਮੈਂ ਗਿਆ	‘I went’	12, 15, 23
ਮੈਂ ਗਿਆ ਆਂ	‘I have gone’	26, 33, 51
ਮੈਂ ਗਿਆ ਸਾਂ	‘I had gone’	1, 18, 37
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਿਆ	‘I haven't gone’	60, 200
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਾਂ ਗਿਆ	‘I hadn't gone’	28, 61, 83
Future :		
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਊਂਗਾ	‘I will go’	30, 31, 44
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਊਂਗਾ	‘I will not go’	62
Hortative :		
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਵਾਂ	‘May I go’	63, 118, 123
ਮੈਂ ਨਾ ਜਾਵਾਂ	‘May I not go’	64, 94, 144
Optative :		
ਏਵੇਂ ਜਾਈਦਾ	‘This is how one should go’	165
ਏਵੇਂ ਜਾਈਦਾ ਆ	‘This is how one should go’	65, 66, 113
ਏਂਵੇ ਜਾਈਦਾ ਸੀ	‘This is how we used to go’	67
ਏਂਵੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਈਦਾ	‘This is how one should not go’	68, 81
ਏਵੇਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਜਾਈਦਾ	‘This is not how one used to go’	69, 134
Imperative :		
ਓਥੇ ਜਾਹ	‘Go there’	40, 49, 86
ਓਥੇ ਨਾ ਜਾਹ	‘Don't go there’	70, 102

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Infinitive :

ਮੈਂ ਜਾਣਾ	'I am about to go'	71, 97, 101
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਣਾ ਆਂ	'I have to go'	87, 141, 148
ਮੈਂ ਜਾਣਾ ਸੀ	'I had to go'	72, 114
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਣਾ	'I don't have to go'	73, 74, 103
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਜਾਣਾ	'I didn't have to go'	75

Note that the perfective auxiliary following the infinitive is always /ਸੀ/. It does not agree with the subject as it would in any other construction.

55. ਇਸ ਖਿੜਕੀ ਤੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਬੰਦੇ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਵੇਖਨਾ।
PP NP NP mVP (R)

'I watch people……..coming and going…….from the window'.

56. ਬਹੁਤ ਅੱਛਾ ਜੀ, ਆ ਜਾਨੇ ਆਂ।
NP (sl-65)

'Alright, sir, we will come'.
/ਆ ਜਾ-/ 'Come' verb with reinforcer. Subject pronoun omitted.

57. ਤੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਸੁਰਮੇ ਦਾ ਨਾਸ ਮਾਰ ਦੇਂਦੀ ਏਂ।
NP E AP VP (S-72)

'You spoil the Surma'.
Surma is cosmetic for the eyes.

58. ਬੰਦੇ ਤੋਂ ਦੂਜੇ ਬੰਦੇ ਦਾ ਅੱਖ ਪੁੱਛੇ ਬਿਗੈਰ ਰਿਹਾ
PP NP PP
ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ। (m2-32)

'One man cannot help asking about another man's troubles'.
Here /ਨਹੀਂ/ stands between the main verb and the reinforcer /ਨਹੀਂ ਰਿਹਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ/ is a somewhat more usual order.

59. ਵੱਡੀਆਂ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੱਟੀ ਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਘੱਲਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ।
NP PP VP
(m2-25)

'The older girls were not sent to the shop'.

60. ਮੱਝਾਂ ਚਾਰੀਆਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਹਾਲੀ ਤਕ ਤਾਂ
NP AP PP E
ਐਂਵੇਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਈਆਂ।
PP VP (S1-61)

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‘Grazing buffaloes of others has never yet gone useless’.

61. ਕੋਈ ਟੂਣਾ, ਕੋਈ ਮਨੰਤ, ਕੋਈ ਇਲਾਜ ਕਾਰਗਰ
NP NP NP VP
ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਹੋਇਆ। (a-67)

‘Nothning worked, no amulet, no vow, no medicine’.

62. ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਪਸੰਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨਗੇ।
NP VP (Sl-70)

‘They will never like any progressive writings’.
/ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰ-/ ‘like’, ‘enjoy’, is a conjunct verb, containing an adjective /ਪਸੰਦ/.

63. ਚਲੋ, ਅੱਜ ਚੱਕੀ ਦੇ ਪੁਲ ਹੇਠ ਚਲ ਬਹੀਏ।
‘Come, let's go sit under the big bridge’. (ns-103)
/ਬਹੀਏ/ is hortative first plural of /ਬਹਿ-/ ‘sit’.

64. ਕੋਈ ਦਿਨ ਖਾਲੀ ਨਾ ਰਹਿ ਜਾਵੇ।
NP AP VP (S1-61)

‘No day may pass without anything significant happening’.
(Lit: ‘No day may remain empty’).

65. ਆਦਮੀ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਸੁੱਧ ਰੱਖਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਏ, ਆਸੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਦੀ।
NP NP VP (S1-70)

‘A man ought to be careful about his environment’.

66. ਹੁਣ ਅਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਲਾਲ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਬਦਲ ਦੇਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਏ।
PP NP NP VP (S1-69)

‘Now we ought to change this red book’.

67. ਬਰਾਹਮਣ ਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਧੀ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਨਾਤੇ, ਸ਼ੀਲਾ ਨੂੰ ਵਹਿਮਾਂ ਭਰਮਾਂ
PP NP NP
ਦੇ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਵਿਚ ਚੋਖਾ ਬੋਧ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਸੀ।
VP (S-72)

‘Shila, being the daughter of a Brahman mother should have had sufficient knowledge of superstitions’.

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68. ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦਿਸਦਾ, ਨੇੜੇ ਦਾ, ਦਸ ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਵਾਲਾ ਤੇ ਪੰਜ ਭੂਤਕ ਜੀਵਨ
NP NP
ਨਹੀਂ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ।
VP (m-32)

'I do not want the visible, immanent life of the ten senses and five elements'.

69. ਛੋਟੇ ਹੁੰਦਿਆ ਕਦੀ ਹੌਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਬੋਲੀਦਾ।
SVP PP mVP (R)

'We never spoke at a low pitch when we were young'.

70. ਮੈਂ ਜੁ ਤੈਨੂੰ ਆਖਿਆ ਸੀ, ਭਈ ਘਰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਨਾ ਜਾਈ।
NP E NP mVP Voc sVP mVP (lc-52)

'Didn't I tell you that you should not leave the house?'

71. ਫਿਰ ਮੈਂ ਖਾ ਲਵਾਂਗੀ ਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਕਰਨਾ।
PP NP VP C NP VP (Sl-66)

'Then I'll finish eating and you can talk'.

72. ਉਸ ਨੇ ਬਿਜੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਦੋ ਸੌ ਰੁਪੈ ਵੀ ਲੈਣੇ ਸਨ।
NP PP NP E VP (S-84)

'Moreover, he had to get two hundred rupees from Bije Singh'.

73. ਇਸ ਦਾ ਦਿਮਾਗ ਠੀਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣਾ।
NP AP VP (Sl-52)

'He must be all confused'.
(Lit. His brain must not be straight).

74. ਓਹ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਦੇਣ ਦੇਣਾ ਈ ਨਹੀਂ।
NP NP VP (Sl-60)

'You won't let me give that'.

/ਨਹੀਂ/ follows the main verb because the emphatic particle /ਈ/ must follow the main verb and cannot stand last in the sentence. See 9.3.

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75. ਉਸ ਦੇ ਪਿਓ ਨੇ ਏਹਨਾਂ ਹਾਲਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਕਰਨੀ ਦੇ
NP PP NP PP
ਮੰਦੇ ਨਤੀਜਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਬਚਾ ਸਕਣਾ।
VP (S-84)

'Under these conditions, his father could not save him from the results of his misdeeds'.

7.7 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES

Subordinate verbal phrases typically precede main verbal phrases and can be distinguished by using a different set of markers. There are three common ones:

(1) The Present Perfect /ਦਿਆਂ-/ (See 5.18).

76. ਬਸਰੇ ਰਹਿੰਦਿਆਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਖਬਰਾਂ ਸੁਨਣ ਦਾ ਝੱਸ ਪੈ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ।
SVP NP NP VP (m-43)

'While staying at Basra, I acquired a taste for listening to the news'.

77. ਹੁਣ ਪੁਲਸ ਨੇ ਆਉਂਦਿਆਂ ਹੀ ਅਸਾਂ ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਨੌਕਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਰਗੜਨਾ
PP SVP E NP nVP
ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ।
mVP (m-41)

'Now as soon as the police arrived, they started to manhandle us three servants'.

For an additional example see 7.2. Sentence 29.

The Present perfect may be iterated for emphasis:
ਓਹਨੇ ਆਉਂਦਿਆਂ ਆਉਂਦਿਆਂ ਕਿਹਾ 'He told us on the way'.

Lit, 'as we were going'.

(2) The Past Perfect /ਇਆਂ-/ (See 5.19)

78. ਬਿਨਾਂ ਬੋਲਿਆਂ ਮਾਧੁਰੀ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਮਗਰ ਹੋ ਤੁਰੀ।
VP NP PP VP

'Without saying anything Madhuri followed her'.

/ਬੋਲਿਆਂ/ 'speaking' is preceded by /ਬਿਨਾਂ/ 'without'. /ਬੋਲਣ ਦੇ ਬਿਨਾਂ/ 'without speaking' would be a more usual construction, but /ਬਿਨਾਂ/ commonly occurs in this exceptional position. /ਹੋ ਤੁਰੀ/ is a complex verb form. See 7.4.

(3) The Bare Stem plus /ਕੇ/.

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79. ਅੱਧੀ ਰਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਹਰੀ ਸ਼ਰਮੇ ਨੇ ਆਏ ਜੁਆਈ ਦਾ ਘੋੜਾ ਖੋਲ੍ਹ ਕੇ
NP NP SVP
ਬਹੁਤ ਦੁਰੇਡੇ ਲਿਜਾ ਕੇ ਛੁਪਾ ਦਿਤਾ।
SVP mVP (m2-80)

'At midnight Hari Sharma unfastened the horse of the bridegroom, who had come, and taking it for away, hid it.

The two subordinate verbal phrases both have complex internal structure:

ਆਏ ਜੁਆਈ ਦਾ ਘੋੜਾ ਖੋਲ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਦੁਰੇਡੇ ਲਿਜਾ
NP V PP V

For additional examples see section 7.3, Sentence 31, 34 and 39.
(4) The Imperfective Infinitive /ਣੋ-/, see 5.24.

80. ਵਾਰਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਕੀਮਤਾਂ ਵਾਰਸ ਥਾਂ ਥਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਣੋ
ਨਹੀਂ ਝਕਦਾ। (m2-41)
'Wares does not hesitate to present his own standards again and again'.

The imperfective infinitive is comparable to an ablative or a construction with /ਤੋਂ/ from in most of its uses. It is used to express comparison:
ਤੁਰ ਪੈਣੋ ਹੋਰ ਕੀ ਚੰਗਾ ਆ ? 'What is better than leaving this place?

It is commonly used with negative main verbal phrases:
ਓਹ ਜਾਣੋ ਨਾ ਰਹਿ ਸਕਿਆ 'He could n't help going'.

It is also commonly used with main verbs that have some negative implication.
ਓਹ ਆਉਣੋ ਡਰਦਾ ਸੀ 'He was afraid to come'.

Occasionally a conditional infinitive and /ਤੋਂ/ is used instead Thus the following would be possible, but less usual:
ਤੁਰ ਪੈਣ ਤੋਂ ਹੋਰ ਕੀ ਚੰਗਾ ਆ 'What is better than leaving the place?'

81. ਨੌਜਵਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਫੌਜ ਵਿਚ ਭਰਤੀ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਡਰਨਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ।
(S-92)
'Young men should not be afraid of getting enlisted in the army'.

82. ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਬੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਗਾਮੀ ਵੀ ਸਲਾਹੁਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿ ਸਕਦੇ।
NP E NP E PP VP
(Sl-71)
'Even the most reactionary people cannot help praising you'.

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See also 6.11, Sentence 8, /ਕਾਮੇ ਹੋਣ ਨਾਲੋਂ/ ‘than being a workman?’

7.8 ADJECTIVAL AND NOMINAL VERBAL PHRASES

Two verb forms are common in adjectival positions within nominal phrases and as heads of adjectival phrases.

(1) The present II /ਦਾ-/, see 5.18.

83. ਦਸ ਰੁਪੈ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਕਦੀ ਕਣਕ ਵੀ ਉਸ ਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਨਫਾ ਨਹੀਂ
NP E PP NP VP
ਸੀ ਲਿਆ ਸਕੀ। (S-95)

‘Even the wheat sold for ten rupees could not bring any profit for him’.

The first NP contains an aVP /ਦਸ ਰੁਪੈ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਕਦੀ/ ‘selling for ten rupees’ modifying /ਕਣਕ/ ‘wheat’. The VP in turn contains a present II verb /ਵਿਕਦੀ/ ‘selling’ and a complement of that verb, the NP /ਦਸ ਰੁਪੈ ਨੂੰ/ ‘for ten rupees’.

For additional examples see 6.11. In sentence 7, /ਮਿੱਠੇ ਮੁਸਕਾਂਦੇ/ ‘sweet-smiling’ contains a present II /ਮੁਸਕਾਂਦੇ/ ‘smiling’ and its complement /ਮਿੱਠੇ/ ‘sweet’. The whole is an independent adjectival phrase. In this sentence /ਕਦੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਦਾ/ ‘sometimes rising’ is an AP.

Present II forms can also be used in positions normally occupied by nouns, as can many adjectives. See sentence 68 in 7.6 where /ਦਿਸਦਾ/ ‘appearing’ /ਨੇੜੇ ਦਾ/ ‘of the vicinity’, /ਦਸ ਇੰਦਰੀਆਂ/ ‘ten senses’ and /ਪੰਜ ਭੂਤਕ ਜੀਵਨ/ ‘life of the five elements’ are all coordinated by /ਤੇ/ ‘and’ and form a complex NP.

(2) The past /ਇਆ-/, see 5.19.

84. ਨਾ ਕਿਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਛਿੱਲੜ ਸੀ, ਨਾ ਕਾਗਜ਼ ਦਾ ਡਿੱਗਾ ਟੁਕੜਾ ਨਜ਼ਰ
Neg PP NP VP Neg NP VP
ਆਉਂਦਾ ਸੀ। (gs-33)

‘Neither was there any rubbish, nor did any fallen piece of paper meet your eyes’.

The NP /ਕਾਗਜ਼ ਦਾ ਡਿੱਗਾ ਟੁਕੜਾ/ ‘fallen piece of paper’ contains two modifiers, /ਕਾਗਜ਼ ਦਾ/ ‘of paper’ and /ਡਿੱਗਾ/ ‘fallen’. The later is a perfect of a verb.

For additional examples see 6.11, sentences 16 and 18, and 7.3, sentences 33 and 46. In 16 /ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਕਿਰਨਾਂ ਚੁੰਮਿਆ/ ‘golden rays-kissed’ is a modifier of a noun. In 18 /ਅੱਖਾਂ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੀਆਂ/ ‘with eyes opened’ is an AP. In 33 /ਰੱਬੀ ਚੱਕਰ ਤੇ ਚੜ੍ਹੀ/ ‘having climbed on to the divine wheel’ shows a perfect verb with a complement. In 46 /ਖਿੜਕੀ ਵਿਚ ਖਲੋਤੀ/ ‘standing in the window’ is

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an adjectival sentence element consisting of a perfect verb /ਖਲੋਤੀ/ ‘stood’ and a complement /ਖਿੜਕੀ ਵਿਚ/ ‘in the window’.

There are also two kinds of verbal phrases which stand in nominal phrases in noun positions or function as nominal phrases. These are:

(3) Simple Infinitive /-ਣਾ/, see 5.24.

85. ਕੁਝ ਚਿਰ ਲਈ ਉਹ ਚੁਪ ਕਰ ਗਈ, ਜਿਵੇਂ ਉਹ ਬੁੱਢੀ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਨੂੰ
PP NP mVP crd NP mVP
ਹੋਰ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਲਮਕਾਉਣਾ ਠੀਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਮਝਦੀ ਸੀ।
AP mVP (ss-10)

‘For some time she kept silent, as if that old woman did not think it proper to prolong this matter any more’.

The mVP /ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਲਮਕਾਉਣਾ/ ‘to prolong the matter any longer’ functions in the sentence as a NP. It consists of an infinitive /ਲਮਕਾਉਣਾ/ ‘to prolong’ and two dependent sentence elements, /ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਨੂੰ/ ‘this matter’ and /ਹੋਰ ਵਧੇਰੇ/ ‘any longer’. The simple infinitive occurs in positions otherwise occupied by nouns in the direct case.

(4) Conditional Infinitive /ਣ-/, see 5.24.

86. ਚਲੋ, ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਈ ਕਰ ਦਿਆਂਗੇ, ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਬਣੋ।
NP AP NP
(sl-65)

‘O.K. we'll do it first for you, you come along’.
(Lit: you be comers)

/ਆਉਣ/ ‘come’ is an infinitive before /ਵਾਲੇ/ ‘one who’.

For additional examples see 6.11, sentences 3 and 8, 7.3, sentences 32, and 7.6, sentence 62. In 3 /ਦਾਦੀ ਬਨਣ ਦਾ ਚਾਓ/ ‘desire to become a grandmother’ contains an infinitive /ਬਨਣ/ ‘become’ and its complement /ਦਾਦੀ/ ‘grandmother’. In 8, /ਚੰਗੇ ਲੱਗਣ ਦਾ ਹੁਨਰ/ ‘the art of being good’ contains an infinitive /ਲੱਗਣ/ ‘be’ and its complement /ਚੰਗੇ/ ‘good’. /ਕਾਮੇ ਹੋਣ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਮਹਿੰਗਾ/ ‘more precious than being a skilled worker’ contains an infinitive /ਹੋਣ/ ‘be’ and its complement /ਕਾਮੇ/ ‘worker’. In 32 /ਉੱਦਮ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ/ ‘for getting started’ contains an infinitive of a conjunct verb. In 62 /ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਣ ਵਾਲੀ/ ‘forward going’ parallels the construction in 83 but modifies the noun /ਰਚਨਾ/ ‘works’. All these examples show conditional infinitives before post positions, the most frequent position. In any case, they occur only in those places where nouns would be in the oblique case.

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7.9 LONGER PHRASES

Verbal phrases are usually only three words in length. The following three word patterns are common:

main verb……..catenative……..auxiliary
ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਏ ‘can go’

main verb…….reinforcer…….auxiliary
ਚਲਾ ਗਿਆ ਏ ‘has gone’

noun or adjective…….verb…….auxiliary
ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਏ ‘is working’

The one common for element pattern is noun or adjective
…….main verb……..catenative……auxiliary
ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ ਏ ‘can work’

Occasionally two catenatives are used.

87. ਮੈਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਘਰ ਨੂੰ ਜਟ ਸ਼ਰੀਕੇ ਨੇ ਪਾੜ ਖਾਣੀਆਂ
NP C NP NP PP
ਨਜ਼ਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਵੇਖਣ ਲਗ ਪੈਣਾ ਹੈ।
VP (k-97)

‘The village community will certainly be looking at me and our family with fierce visage’.

The verbal phrase consists of /ਵੇਖ-/ ‘see’, /ਣ ਲੱਗ-/ ‘begin’, /-/ਪੈ-/ ‘certainly’, and the phrase marker /-ਣਾ/ suggesting immediate future.

88. ਇਸ ਘਟਨਾ ਦੇ ਅਸਰ ਨਾਲ ਸਵਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਮਨੋਭਾਵਾਂ
PP PP
ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਵਾਰੀ ਫੇਰ ਕੁਝ ਉੱਥਲ ਪੁੱਥਲ ਜਹੀ ਹੋਣ
PP NP VP
ਲਗ ਪਈ।

(ns-217)

‘Swaran Singh's mind was disturbed once again because of this happening’.

The verb phrase /ਹੋਣ ਲਗ ਪਈ/ consists of a main verb /ਹੋ-/ ‘become’ with two catenatives, /ਣ ਲੱਗ-/ ‘begin’ and /-/ਪੈ-/ ‘certainly’. The sentence is more literally, ‘some disturbing matter certainly began to be in Swaran Singh's mind……..’.

Catenatives after reinforcers are even rarer, but the following is an example:

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89. ਪਰ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਇਸ਼ਾਰਾ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਝਟ ਪਟ
C sVP NP PP
ਬਾਹਰ ਨਿਕਲ ਜਾਣਾ ਪਿਆ।
PP mVP (n-120)

'But when the Sadhu's motion was put, he had to go out at once'.

Reinforcers following conjunct verbs are also unusual, but do occur:

90. ਫਿਰ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਸਤ ਜੀਵਨ ਦੀ ਪਵਿਤਰਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਗਈ।
PP NP VP
(m-78)

'Then, of course, the sanctity of married life is gone'.

The verb phrase /ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਗਈ/ consists of a conjunct verb /ਖਤਮ ਹੋ/ 'to become finished' and a reinforcer /-/ਜਾ-/ plus a marker.

Occassionally one catenative will be used with a coordinated pair of preceding verbs. There is an example in sentence 24, section 6.11. /ਨਾ ਵੇਖੀ ਨਾ ਸੋਚੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ/ 'is neither seen nor thought of' are both perfectly ordinary phrases consisting of a base /ਵੇਖ-/ or /ਸੋਚ-/, the catenative /-ਇਆ ਜਾ-/ 'passive', and the phrase marker /ਇਆ ਏ-/. /ਨਾ.....ਨਾ...../ is the regular way of expressing disjunction with verb phrases.

Occasional sentences seem to permit an interpretation as having complex verb phrases without absolutely requiring it.

91. ਜਿਵੇਂ ਬੱਚਾ ਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਗੋਦ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠਦਾ, ਹੱਸਦਾ,
crd NP PP ?
ਖੇਲ੍ਹਦਾ, ਖਾਂਦਾ, ਪੀਂਦਾ, ਉਛਲਦਾ ਹੈ।
VP
(wc-233)

'Like a baby on his mother's lap, he sits, laughs, plays, eats, drinks, and enjoys himself'.

/ਉਛਲਦਾ ਹੈ/ 'he jumps', 'he enjoys himself' might be interpreted as the main verbal phrase, in which case it is of a simple straightforward type. The five preceding verb forms, /ਬੈਠਾ/ 'sit', /ਹਸਦਾ/ 'laugh', /ਖੇਲ੍ਹਦਾ/ 'play', /ਖਾਂਦਾ/ 'eat' and /ਪੀਂਦਾ/ 'drink', would then be adjectival verbal phrases. But it would then be adjectival verbal phrases. But it would be possible to interpret the structure as being a complex verbal phrase in which six present I verb forms are all constructed with one auxiliary in a coordinate construction.

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CHAPTER 8

CLAUSES

8.1 CLAUSE ELEMENTS

The favorite clauses type in Punjabi has one essential element, a main verbal phrase. This may be any of the types described in 7.6. No other sentence element is required. The following are examples of sentences consisting of a verbal phrase alone:

ਜਾਹ ‘go’ (Imperative)
ਜਾਨਾ ‘I am going’.

The latter is a shortened form, best considered as /ਮੈਂ ਜਾਨਾ/ with the ‘subject’ /ਮੈਂ/ dropped. Most sentences consisting of a single verb phrase are best considered as more complex sentences with an element deleted.

It is quite usual to have one or more elements in addition to the verbal phrase. These are of several kinds. In chapters 6 and 7 several types of phrases were described. These form a basis for a broad division of sentence elements as follows:

(1) Those elements which are normally an NP, an AP, or an aVP. We will distinguish five types, see 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.6, 8.7.
(2) Those elements which are normally PP, see 8.7.
(3) Those elements which are normally sVP, see 7.1.

8.2 THE ‘INDIRECT OBJECT’

Certain verbs commonly have what is traditionally called an ‘indirect object’. It translates the English indirect object in such sentences as:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਬ ਦਿੱਤਾ ‘Mohan gave Sohan a mango’.
iNP

But it also translates the English direct object in such sentences as:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਿਆ ‘Mohan killed Sohan’.
iNP

And in some instances it translates the English subject.

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਬ ਖਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ‘Mohan should eat the mango’.
We will designate it simply iNP, as we have above.

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The iNP is always a noun phrase with /ਨੂੰ/, or a pronoun in the dative case see 5.5. The dative case is formed by the suffix /ਨੂੰ-/ which differs from the post position /ਨੂੰ/ only in that it lacks a tone. Before /ਨੂੰ/ the noun must be in the oblique case. This noun is not ordinarily involved in any system of concord outside the phrase.

8.3 THE 'DIRECT OBJECT'

Certain verbs commonly have what is traditionally called a 'direct object', We will label it simply as oNP. It translates the English direct object in such sentences as:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਅੰਬ ਖਾਧਾ 'Mohan ate the mango'.
oNP

But the English direct object is about as often translated by an iNP, see 8.2. The oNP often translates into something other than an English direct object:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਚਪੇੜ ਮਾਰੀ 'Mohan slapped Sohan'
oNP

In this latter use, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an oNP and a noun as part of a conjunct verb, see between an oNP and a noun as part of a conjunct Verb.

The oNP is always an NP in the direct case. It may be involved in a sentence concord system, see 8.5.

8.4 THE 'SUBJECT'

The most generally occurring clause element other than the mVP is what has traditionally been called the 'subject'. We will designate it the sNP. In the majority of cases it translates the English subject:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਿਆ 'Mohan killed Sohan'.

But many sentences must be completely restructured on translation. The sNP occurs in two forms:

(1) as a pronoun or noun…….with or without modifiers……in the direct case.
(2) as a noun in the oblique case followed by /ਨੇ/, or a pronoun in the instrument case, under certain circumstances /ਨੇ/ is omitted, and the noun or pronoun remains in the oblique case.

In general, /ਨੇ/ is used only with past or infinitive forms of certain verbs. That is, with verb phrases including past verb forms or infinitives, with or without auxiliaries. The

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verbs concerned can be designated as transitives-they are in general the verbs that can have an oNP or an iNP or both. The /ਨੇ/ itself is optional in many positions, and the whole construction is less rigidly followed than in Hindi. That is, the Punjabi uses parallels in many ways the familiar rule of Hindi grammar that /ਨੇ/ is always and only used with the past forms of transitive verbs, but in Punjabi the /ਨੇ/ is sometimes omitted.

The following rules can be given for the use of /ਨੇ/ with past transitive verbs:

(1) Third person pronominal subjects are always /ਓਹਨੇ, ਏਹਨੇ, ਓਹਨਾ ਨੇ, ਏਹਨਾ ਨੇ/ or the equivalent short forms /ਓਨ,ਏਨ/ for the singulars. That is to say, the use of instrumental case is generally compulsory, at least in careful speech and writing.

(2) First and second person pronominal subjects never have /ਨੇ/. The forms are /ਮੈਂ, ਅਸੀਂ, ਤੂੰ, ਤੁਸੀਂ/ in all instances. However, in the concord system these may function as if /ਨੇ/ were present, see 8.5.

(3) If there is an oNP and usually if there is an iNP, the sNP, if other than a pronoun, will have /ਨੇ/.

(4) If there is neither an oNP nor an iNP, a noun as sNP may or may not have /ਨੇ/, but will be in the oblique case even if the /ਨੇ/ is omitted. Careful formal writing uses the /ਨੇ/ in most instances. Colloquials omit it more often.

The following examples will illustrate these rules:

‘….Saw’	‘…..saw Sohan’.
ਓਹਨੇ ਵੇਖਿਆ	ਓਨ ਸੋਹਣ ਵੇਖਿਆ,‘He……..’
ਮੈਂ ਵੇਖਿਆ	ਮੈਂ ਸੋਹਣ ਵੇਖਿਆ.‘I……’
ਮੋਹਣ ਵੇਖਿਆ	ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਵੇਖਿਆ ‘Mohan……’
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਵੇਖਿਆ	

with intransitive verbs, or with non-past forms, /ਨੇ/ is not normally used:

‘……..went’	‘……See (s) Sohan’.
ਓਹ ਗਿਆ	ਓਹ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਦਾ ਏ.‘He……..’
ਮੈਂ ਗਿਆ	ਮੈਂ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਦਾ ਆਂ ‘I……’
ਮੋਹਣ ਗਿਆ	ਮੋਹਣ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਦਾ ਏ ‘Mohan…….’

The subject is commonly omitted when it is identical with that of an immediately preceding sentence. For purposes of describing the concord, it is best to consider these sentences as if they had the sNP, and that this is involved in the concord system in just the way it would be if expressed, but that it is dropped.

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8.5 CONCORD

The main verb phrase often is in concord with either the sNP or the oNP. The basic rules are simple if the sNP is in the direct case (i.e. is without /ਨੇ/), the verb is in concord with it. If the sNP is not in the direct case, the verb phrase is in concord with the oNP if there is one. If there is no oNP and the sNP has /ਨੇ/, the verb phrase is masculine singular by convention. The following sentences-somewhat schematic, of course-show all types of sNP, masculine singular /ਮੁੰਡਾ/ 'boy' masculine plural /ਮੁੰਡੇ/ 'boys'. feminine singular /ਕੁੜੀ/ 'girl', and feminine plural /ਕੁੜੀਆਂ/ 'girls', and their equivalent forms with /ਨੇ/, combined with all types of oNP, masculine singular /ਸੰਤਰਾ/ 'ਸੰਤਰਾ', masculine plural /ਸੰਤਰੇ/, feminine singular /ਨਾਰੰਗੀ/ 'orange', feminine plural /ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ/ 'oranges', and none. The sentences are not individually glossed. The gloss for each group will serve to indicate approximate meanings.

Present of an intransitive verb: The …….goes'.

ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਜਾਂਦਾ ਏ	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਜਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ
m.s.	m.s.	m.P	m.P
ਕੁੜੀ	ਜਾਂਦੀ ਏ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਜਾਂਦੀਆਂ ਨੇ
f.s.	f.s.	f.p.	f.P.

Past of intransitive verb: 'The……went'.

ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਗਿਆ	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਗਏ
m.s.	m.s.	m.P.	m.P.
ਕੁੜੀ	ਗਈ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਗਈਆਂ
f.s.	f.s.	f.P.	f.P.

Present of an transitive verb: 'The…..eats then'.

ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਸੰਤਰਾ	ਖਾਂਦਾ	ਏ।	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਂਦੇ	ਨੇ।
m.s.	m.s.	m.s.		m.P.	m.P.	m.P.	
ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਂਦਾਂ	ਏ।	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਂਦੇ	ਨੇ।
m.s.	m.P.	m.s.		m.P.	m.P.	m.P.	
ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਂਦਾ	ਏ।	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਂਦੇ	ਨੇ।
m.s.	f.s.	m.s.		m.P.	f.S.	m.P.	
ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਂਦਾ	ਏ।	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਂਦੇ	ਨੇ।
m.s.	f.P.	m.s.		m.P.	f.P.	m.P.	
ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਖਾਂਦਾ		ਏ।	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਖਾਂਦੇ		ਨੇ
m.s.	m.s.			m.P.	m.P.		
ਕੁੜੀ	ਸੰਤਰਾ	ਖਾਂਦੀ	ਏ।	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਂਦੀਆਂ	ਨੇ।
f.s.	m.s.	f.s.		f.P.	m.P.	f.P.	
ਕੁੜੀ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਂਦੀ	ਏ।	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਂਦੀਆਂ	ਨੇ।
f.s.	m.P.	f.s.		f.P.	m.P.	f.P.	

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ਕੁੜੀ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਂਦੀ	ਏ।	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਂਦੀਆਂ	ਨੇ।
f.s.	f.s.	f.s.		f.P.	f.P.	f.P.	
ਕੁੜੀ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਂਦੀ	ਏ।	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਂਦੀਆਂ	ਨੇ।
f.s.	f.P.	f.s.		f.P.	f.P.	f.P.	
ਕੁੜੀ		ਖਾਂਦੀ	ਏ।	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਖਾਂਦੀਆਂ		ਨੇ।
f.s.		f.s.		f.P.	f.P.		

Past of transitive verb. ‘The……ate the……’

ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰਾ	ਖਾਧਾ	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰਾ	ਖਾਧਾ
m.S.		m.S.	m.S.	m.P.		m.S.	m.S.
ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਧੇ	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਧੇ
m.S.		m.P.	m.P.	m.P.		m.P.	m.P.
ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਧੀ	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਧੀ
m.S.		f.S.	f.S.	m.P.		f.S.	f.S.
ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਧੀਆਂ	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਧੀਆਂ
m.S.		f.P.	f.P.	m.P.		f.P.	f.p.
ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨੇ		ਖਾਧਾ	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ	ਨੇ		ਖਾਧਾ
m.S.			m.S.	m.P.			m.S.
ਮੁੰਡੇ			ਖਾਧਾ	ਮੁੰਡਿਆਂ			ਖਾਧਾ
m.S.			m.S.	m.P.			m.S.
ਕੁੜੀ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰਾ	ਖਾਧਾ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰਾ	ਖਾਧਾ
f.S.		m.S.	m.S.	f.P.		m.S.	m.S.
ਕੁੜੀ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਧੇ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਸੰਤਰੇ	ਖਾਧੇ
f.S.		m.P.	m.P.	f.P.		m.P.	m.P.
ਕੁੜੀ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਧੀ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀ	ਖਾਧੀ
f.S.		f.S.	f.S.	f.P.		f.S.	f.S.
ਕੁੜੀ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਧੀਆਂ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨੇ	ਨਾਰੰਗੀਆਂ	ਖਾਧੀਆਂ
f.S.		f.P.	f.P.	f.P.		f.P.	f.P.
ਕੁੜੀ	ਨੇ		ਖਾਧਾ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ	ਨੇ		ਖਾਧਾ
f.S.			m.S.	f.P.			m.S.
ਕੁੜੀ			ਖਾਧਾ	ਕੁੜੀਆਂ			ਖਾਧਾ
f.S.			m.S.	f.P.			m.S.

8.6 CLAUSE PATTERNS

At least the following clause patterns involving an mVP and one or more NPs have been found in Punjabi:

1. sNP + mVP The verbs involved may be called ‘intransitive’.

   ਮੋਹਣ ਗਿਆ ‘Mohan went’

   sNP mVP

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Frequently there are various temporal or locative PPs:

ਮੋਹਣ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਗਿਆ ‘Mohan went to the city’
sNP PP mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਪਰਸੋਂ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ‘Mohan went to the city day before, yesterday’.
sNP PP PP mVP

The following are examples of this pattern:

92. ਸੋਹਣੇ ਮਨੁਖ ਦੇ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਅਸਮਾਨ ਪਰਕਰਮਾ
PP sNP mVP
ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।

(g-123)

‘The earth and the sky are circumbulating in their wait for the super man’.

93. ਓਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਲੇ ਹੋਏ ਰਾਜਾ ਸਾਹਬ ਦੇ ਕੁਝ ਡਰੂ ਜਿਹੇ ਵੋਟਰ
AP sNP
ਵੀ ਸਨ।
E VP (ss-151)

‘There were some frightened voters of Raja Sahib gathered among them’.

/ਓਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਲੇ ਹੋਏ/ ‘gathered among them’ is a semi-independent AP. Properly it should be a modifier of /ਵੋਟਰ/, but there are already three such modifiers, including two that are phrasal, so this is displaced. It is not a major sentence element.

94. ਜੇ ਮੈਂ ਇਕ ਘੰਟਾ ਨਾ ਜਾਵਾਂ, ਫਿਰ
Crd sNP PP mvp

‘If I do not go for another hour then what?
For additional examples, see sentences 2, 3, 15, 23, 30, 42, 53, 84, 90.

2. sNP + iNP + mVP.
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਿਆ ‘Mohan saw Sohan’
sNP iNP mVP

Frequently there are various temporal or locative PPs:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਵਿਚ ਵੇਖਿਆ।
sNP iNP PP mVP

‘Mohan saw Sohan in Jullundhar’.

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ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਦੋ ਵਜੇ ਵੇਖਿਆ।
sNP iNP PP mVP

Mohan saw Sohan at two 'o clock.

The following are examples of this pattern.

95. ਉਹ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸ਼ਰਾਰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰਦੀ ਸੀ
sNP iNP mVP (S.84)

'She liked the mischevious acts of her children.

96. ਮੇਰੀ ਨਾਸਤਕ ਰੁਚੀ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਮਿਲੀ ਹੈ
SNP iNP PP mVP (S.77)

'I received my atheistic tendency from my mother'.

97. ਚੰਗਾ ਜਦੋਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਏਸ ਘਰ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕਢ ਦੇਣਗੇ
Crd iNP PP mVP
ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਆ ਜਾਣਾ।
E sNP mVP

'O.K., when they kick me out of this house, you may come in'.

In the first clause the sNP /ਉਹ/ is omitted the second clause is of pattern. I, /ਤੁਸਾਂ/ being oblique became /ਨੇ/ would be usual but cannot occur after first and second person pronouns.

For an additional example of this pattern see sentence 45.

3. sNP + iNP + oNP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਬ ਦਿੱਤਾ 'Mohan gave Sohan a mango'.
sNP iNP oNP mVP

Frequently there are various temporal or locative PPs.

98. ਇਕ ਦਿਨ ਮਾਸਟਰ ਨੇ ਦੀਨੇ ਨੂੰ ਦੋ ਤਿੰਨ ਚਪੇੜਾਂ ਠੋਕ ਮਾਰੀਆਂ
PP sNP iNP oNP mVP
(ss-91)

'One day the master slapped Dina a couple of times.

99. ਹੁਸ਼ਨਾਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਖਬਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੋਸਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਸੀ
sNP oNP iNP mVP (da-30)

'Hushnak Singh told this thing to all his friends'.

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100. ਦੀਨੇ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਬ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਰੂਪ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਦਿਤਾ
iNP sNP oNP mVP (SS-92)

'God has not blessed Dina with handsomeness'.

The following are examples of this pattern with one of the elements dropped:

101. ਉਸ ਨੇ ਬਿਜੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਚੜਾਣ ਲਈ ਕਈ ਵਾਰੀ ਆਖਿਆ
sNP iNP PP PP mVP

'On several occasions she would say this to Bije Singh to tease him.
The oNP /ਇਹ/ 'this' is omitted, but can be supplied /…ਇਹ ਆਖਣਾ/.

102. ਕੁਝ ਨਾ ਕਹੀਂ ਰਾਮ ਲਾਲ।
oNP nVP Voc (s-84)

'Don't say anything Ram Lal'.
The sNP persumably /ਤੂੰ/ 'you' is omitted; there could be an iNP but this slot is empty:

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਨਾ ਕਹੀਂ ਰਾਮ ਲਾਲ
'Don't say anything to Mohan, Ram Lal'.

103. ਓਹਦੇ ਲਈ ਓਹਨੇ ਸਾਡਾ ਕੋਈ ਕਰਜਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਣਾ।
CP P mVP (s-78)

'He does not owe us anything for that'.
(Lit' He does not have to give our any debt for that')

The following would have the iNP, omitted in 103, possibly because of the use of /ਸਾਡਾ/'our', which is here omitted.

ਓਹਦੇ ਲਈ ਓਹਨੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕੋਈ ਕਰਜ਼ਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਣਾ
PP sNP sNP oNP mVP

4. sNP + oNP + mVP

ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਅੰਬ ਖਾਧਾ Mohan ate a mango.
sNP oNp mVP

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This pattern differs from the last one in that an iNP is not permissible, not simply that has been omitted. Certain verbs take iNP (ਵੇਖਣਾ), certain an oNP (ਖਾਣਾ) and certain either or both (ਦੇਣਾ). This pattern also can have various locative or temporal PPs.

104. ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਦੀ ਖੇਡ ਜੀਊਂਦੀ ਅਡੋਲਤਾ ਮੰਗਦੀ ਹੈ।
sNP oNP mVP (g-27)

The game of life demands living stability.

105. ਅਗੋਂ ਕਦੀ ਅਮੀਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਨੌਕਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨੀ।
PP oNP mVP (m-41)

'Henceforth' I shall never work with the rich people'.
The sNP /ਮੈਂ/ is omitted, but can be supplied.

106. ਭਰਥਰੀ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਦਿਨ ਜੋਗੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਲਗੀ ਮਜਲਸ ਵਿਚ
sNP PP PP
ਬਿਨੈ ਕੀਤੀ।
oNP mVP (wa-132)

'One day, in a meeting of yogis, Bharthari made a request'.

This pattern is not wholly distinct from No 3. Some verbs seen always to have an iNP, others an oNP, and some to vacilate. That is to say, in some sentences /ਨੂੰ/ is optional.

5. iNP + oNP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਬ ਖਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ
iNP oNP mVP
'Mohan should eat a mango'

This pattern does not have an sNP. It can occur with various PPs. For examples see sentences 65 to 68.

6. sNP + AP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਚੰਗਾ ਏ 'Mohan is good'.
sNP AP mVP

107. ਜਨਤਾ ਵੀ ਚੰਗੀ ਰੰਗ ਮੰਚ ਲਈ ਉਤਾਵਲੀ ਸੀ
sNP E PP AP vP (p-22)

'The public was also eager for a better stage'.
For additional examples see sentences 8, 109. In sentences 7 and 25 the sNP is omitted but can be supplied.

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108. ਨਿਮਰਤਾ, ਵੈਰਾਗ, ਅਰਦਾਸ ਤੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ-ਸਿੱਕ ਦੇ ਭਾਵ ਅੰਦਰੋਂ ਅਕਾਸ਼ੀ
sNP PP AP
ਪੀਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੱਤ ਰੰਗਾਂ ਵਾਂਗੂ ਚਕਰਕਾਰ ਹੋ ਲਿਸ਼ਕੇ (wb-153)
VP

'The feelings of humility' detachment, prayer, and divine vision from with in became divinely bright like seven colors of the rainbow'.

109. ਟੱਬਰ ਦੇ ਛੇ ਜੀ ਸਨ।
AP NP VP (s-199)

'There were six people in the family'.

7. sNP + cNP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਏ 'Mohan is a boy'.
sNP cNP mVP

This pattern has an additional type of nominal element cNP. This agrees in gender and number with sNP in most cases, and the verb phrase therefore shows concord with both.

110. ਤੇ ਜੇ ਨਿਰਾ ਪੁਰਾ ਮੈ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਿਓ ਵਰਗਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਤਾਂ ਇਕ
C CRD AP sNP AP VP E CNP
ਚੰਗਾ ਪਰਚਾਰਕ ਜਾਂ ਸਾਧੂ ਬਣਦਾ।
VP

'If I had been just like my father, I would have become a good preacher or Sadhu'.

The second clause is of this pattern, with the sNP omitted because it is specified in the first clause. The first clause is of pattern 6. /ਨਿਰਾ ਪੁਰਾ/ just is a displaced modifier of /ਆਪਣੇ ਪਿਓ ਵਰਗਾ/ 'like my father'. For additional examples see sentences 4, 5, 21, 22, 120.

8. sNP + PP + VP we include here clauses in which the PP seems to be more integrally a part of the basic structure than is the case with some sentences in pattern.

ਮੋਹਣ ਕੋਲ ਅੰਬ ਸੀ 'Mohan had a mango'.

111. ਕਸ਼ਮੀਰ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋਲ ਹੈ।
sNP PP vP (sl-23)

'Kashmir is in the possession of Gulab Singh'.
/ਨੂੰ/ is sometimes used as the postposition in this pattern.

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112. ਬਿਜੈ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਗੁੱਸਾ ਸੀ।
PP sNP vP (s-117)

'Bije Singh was angry about this matter'.
(Lit 'To Bije Singh was anger about this matter).

9. iNP + AP + VP
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਚੰਗਾ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ 'Mohan should be good'.

This and similar constructions are very common with a /ਚਾਹ/ 'want'.

113. ਪਿਓ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਂ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਸਿਆਣਾ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ
iNP AP VP (S-74)

'A father should be considred more intelligent than a mother'.

10. sNP + cNp + VP
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਬਣਨਾ ਸੀ 'Mohan was going to become a student'.

This construction is only used when the verb is an infinitive, with or without the auxiliary. The verb is masculine singular in any example, that is, there is no concord.

114. ਜੇ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾ ਮਰਦਾ, ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਸੂਬੇਦਾਰ ਯਕੀਨੀ ਬਣ ਜਾਣਾ ਸੀ।
C NP MVP E NP SNP CPP (s-93)

'If Balwant Singh had not died, he would certainly have become a Subedar'.

11. sNP + iNP + oNP + mVP
ਓਹਨੇ ਬੀਰੋ ਨੂੰ ਧੀ ਬਣਾਇਆ। 'He made Bhiro a daughter'.
sNP iNP cNP VP (He adopted Bhiro).

This pattern differs from number 3, which superficially resembles, in that there is no concord. In the above example /ਧੀ/ 'daughter' is in the direct case, but /ਬਣਾਇਆ/ made is masculine singular instead of feminine singular as it would be following pattern 3.

115. ਸ਼ਾਮ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਨੂੰ ਅਸੀਂ ਨੌਕਰ ਕਦੀ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਮਝਿਆ।
iNP sNP cNP E E mVP (da-32)

'We have never treated Sham Sunder as a servant'.

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8.7 POST-POSITIONAL PHRASES

Post-positional phrases and equivalent single words (adverbs) comprise a number of types of sentence elements. Some are rather freely insertable into any clause pattern; others are probably best considered as essential elements of certain patterns. These have not been thoroughly classified, nor have their places in clause patterns been examined.

However, one basis of classification is important and should be mentioned. Postpositional phrases can be substituted for by certain interrogative words-or, otherwise expressed, certain post-positional phrases can be answered to questions asked by certain interrogative words. There are four groups:

(1) Locative Expressions answer the questions /ਕਿੱਥੇ/ ‘where’ or /ਕਿੱਥੋਂ/ ‘from where’. They include correlatives of the question words, /ਏਥੇ/ ‘here’ etc., see 5.6 and numerous phrases with such post-positions as /ਵਿਚ/ ‘in’, /ਉੱਤੇ/ ‘on’ etc.

(2) Temporal Expressions answer the questions /ਕਦ/ ‘when’, and /ਕਦੋਂ/ ‘since when’. They include a number of adverbs such as /ਹੁਣ/ ‘now’ /ਪਰਸੋਂ/ ‘day before yesterday’, certain noun phrases in the oblique case, as /ਦੋ ਵਜੇ/ ‘at two o'clock’, and phrase with certain postpositions, such as /ਵਿਚ/, /ਪਿੱਛੇ/.

(3) Manner Expressions answer the questions /ਕਿਵੇਂ/, /ਕਿਉਂ/, and /ਕਿੰਜ/. They include such adverbs as /ਏਵੇਂ/ ‘thus’ phrases with certain postpositions such as /ਤੇ/ ‘by’ as in /ਗੱਡੀ ਤੇ/ ‘by train’, and certain subordinate verbal phrases, such as /ਲੁਕ ਛਿਪ ਕੇ/ ‘secretly (more literally, ‘hiding), see sentence 53.

(4) Other postpositional Expressions. These answer questions of the form /ਕਿਸ ਨਾਲ/ ‘with what’, ‘with whom’, with various postpositions. They include many phrases including the same postposition as the question.

Presumably these four types of elements have different functions in clause patterns, but these cannot yet be defined.

Notice that the several groups cannot be separted on the basis of the postpositions used. In sentence 53 /ਇਸ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਵਿਚ/ ‘during this period’ answers the questions/ਕਦ-/ and is temporal. In sentence 91 /ਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਗੋਦ ਵਿਚ/ ‘on mother's lap’ answers the question /ਕਿਥੇ/ and is locative. In sentence 75 /ਏਹਨਾਂ ਹਾਲਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ/ ‘under these conditions’ would answer the question /ਕਿਵੇਂ/ ‘how’ and is a manner expression. In sentence 92, /ਸੋਹਣੇ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਦੀ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਰਵਿਚ/ ‘in expectation of the superman’, would most likely be an answer to /ਕਿਸ ਵਿਚ/ ‘in what’, and is of the last group.

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CHAPTER 9

EMPHASIS

9.1 PRINCIPLES

We shall discuss here four devices by which a sentence element is given special prominence. We shall call this special prominence ‘emphasis’, but with the understanding that its function is not always the same. It may be used to focus attention on the sentence element, to signal contrast, to assist in joining sentences together in sequences, or to perform various other tasks in the discourse. The functions in longer passages than sentences have not as yet been analyzed and so will not be distinguished here.

The four devices discussed here are:
(1) Intonation
(2) Change of position of a phrase
(3) Emphatic particles
(4) Iteration of words.

These devices are commonly used in various combinations. Intonation can be used alone, but the other, in general, can not be used without accompanying intonational emphasis. The details of this interrelation of devices vary widely from combination to combination. The devices may be illustrated as applied to the following basic sentence:

2		1		
ਮੋਹਣ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	‘Mohan went to the city’.
NP	PP	VP		

This can be given emphatic intonation at various points by raising the point of highest pitch to /ੇ/ and perhaps also shifting its position in the sentences:

3		1		
ਮੋਹਣ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	‘Mohan went to the city’
2	3	1		
ਮੋਹਣ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	‘Mohan went to the city’
2		3	1	
ਮੋਹਣ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	‘Mohan went to the city’

In the following set, intonation is combined with change of phrase position:

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3			1	
ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	ਮੋਹਣ	‘Mohan went to the city’
31				
ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਮੋਹਣ	‘Mohan went to the city’

In the following, an emphatic particle is used following the phrase with high pitch and giving it further emphasis.

3		1		
ਮੋਹਣ	ਈ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ ‘Mohan went to the city’
2	3	1		
ਮੋਹਣ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਈ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ ‘Mohan went to the city’

Emphasis by iteration is not possible with this same basic sentence, but can be illustrated by the following:

2		1		
ਮੋਹਣ	ਜਲਦੀ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	‘Mohan went quickly’
2	3		1	
ਮੋਹਣ	ਜਲਦੀ	ਜਲਦੀ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ ‘Mohan went very quickly’

Verb reinforcers (see 7.4) and certain catenatives (See 7.3, particularly 12 and 13) sometimes have functions quite similar to those of emphatic particles. Certain types of two word compounds, particularly echo constructions (See 6.9 and 7.5) also have function similar to emphasis.

In the following sections, the more important emphatic particles will be discussed. The following occur:

ਈ ~ ਹੀ	See 9.3	ਹਾਂ	9.9
ਤੇ	9.6	ਹੈ	9.10
ਤਾਂ	9.6	ਨਾ	9.15
ਸਹੀ	9.7	ਕੀ	9.13
ਭਲਾ	9.7	ਕਾਹਦਾ	9.12
ਖਾਂ	9.8	ਬਹੁਤਾ	9.11
ਜੁ	9.5	ਗਾ	9.14
ਵੀ	9.4		

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9.2 MEANINGS OF PARTICLES

There seems to be a quite general tendency among writers on South Asian languages (1) to give inadequate attention to the emphatic particles and (2) to attempt to find translation equivalents. Most of the grammars mention few if any of the particles, and most give meanings which are applicable only to limited contexts. One of the better treatments is that of Grahme Bailey concerning ही, the Hindi equivalent of /ਈ/ or /ਹੀ/. He says:

> ‘‘When its force is emphatic, the emphasis may be laid either on the actual word immediately preceding, or on the fact as a whole. Sometimes the stress is laid on an act suggesting that it was just about to begin, or was just going on, or had just finished. Sometimes it means ‘‘only’’, ‘‘merely’’ or ‘‘at least’’, or again it may mean ‘‘finally’’, or ‘‘with difficulty’’ and lastly there is the use with ‘‘neither……nor’’.

Such a statement is misleading. ही ‘‘means’’ only’ in a sentence like मैं दस ही ऋाने दूंगा ‘I’ll give you only ten annas’. But it does so simply by the fact that it marks emphasis in a statement which obviously implies some notion of maximum with or without ही. In some other context where the whole discourse would imply a minimum, the ‘‘meaning’’ of ही would be ‘at least’. Any such translation, however, is more a function of the context than of the particle itself, and should not be considered as a ‘‘meaning’’.

The emphatic particles must be described in terms of their use rather than their meanings. In this chapter, unfortunately, it will be possible only to suggest certain features, mostly structural relations within sentences. The emphatic particles are of great significance in super-sentence syntax. A major function of most of them is to assist in signaling the sequential relationships of sentences. Most of this, however, is not yet susceptible of precise description.

9.3 /ਈ/ ~ /ਹੀ/

/ਈ/ or /ਹੀ/ is the most common emphatic particle in Punjabi. The variant /ਈ/ is more frequent in colloquial usage, whereas /ਹੀ/ is more frequent in formal literary Punjabi. There seem to be no significant differences in structural relationships.

/ਈ/ follows a phrase with high pitch giving intonational emphasis. It further reinforces that emphasis. Generally speaking, the intonational emphasis is marked at the beginning of the phrase and the /ਈ/ occurs after the end of the phrase. As a consequence of the rule just given, /ਈ/ is never initial. Moreover, /ਈ/ is very seldom final.

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1. Balley, T, Grahme, 1950. Teach yourself Hindustani, London, The English Universities Press, P. 124.

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116. ਏਕਤਾ ਤੇ ਸਾਂਝ ਈ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਸ਼ਿਚੰਤ ਬਣਾ ਸਕਦੇ ਨੇ।
NP E NP AP VP

(G-35)

'Only unity and cooperation can make man fearless'.

/ਈ/ follows the noun phrase /ਏਕਤਾ ਤੇ ਸਾਂਝ/ 'unity and cooperation' which bears pitch /3/ at its beginning. This signals that the whole phrase is to be emphasized, as has been indicated by the underlining.

If a noun phrase is to be emphasized with /ਈ/, it must precede the verb phrase. Without /ਈ/ there would be no such restriction, and the noun phrase might follow the verb phrase.

3 2 1
117. ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀ ਹੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਦਾ ਭੇਦ ਏ।
NP E NP VP

'Sacrifice is the secret of life'.

3 1
ਜੀਵਨ ਦਾ ਭੇਦ ਈ ਏ ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀ।
NP E VP NP

'Sacrifice is the very secret of life'.

In this sentence, emphasis is on /ਜੀਵਨ ਦਾ ਭੇਦ/ 'secret of life'. It would not be possible to put emphasis on /ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀ/ 'sacrifice' in this position by the use of /ਈ/.

2 1 3 1
ਮਨੁੱਖ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਸ਼ਚਿੰਤ ਬਣਾ ਸਕਦੇ ਨੇ, ਏਕਤਾ ਤੇ ਸਾਂਝ
NP AP VP NP

The meaning of this sentence is much the same as that of 116 above. The shift of position of /ਏਕਤਾ ਤੇ ਸਾਂਝ/ and the accompanying high pitch provides emphasis, but it is not possible to add /ਈ/ for any further emphasis, because the VP precedes.

2 3 1
118. ਅਸਾਂ ਕਈ ਵਾਰ ਖਿਆਲ ਕੀਤਾ, ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਈ ਆ ਜਾਈਏ।
SNP PP ONP VP PP E VP

(Sl-64)

'Several times we thought of coming over to Ludhiana or Jullundur'.

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/ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ, ਜਲੰਧਰ/ ‘Ludhiana or Jullundur’ is a closely knit phrase, and can only be emphasized as a whole. If, however, /ਜਾਂ/ ‘or’ is inserted, the phrase is less closely knit and it is possible to emphasize either the whole or a part:

3
……ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ ਜਾਂ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਈ.....
E

This has essentially the same meaning as the sentence above.

3
.....ਲੁਧਆਣੇ ਜਾਂ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਈ.....
E

‘…..to Ludhiana or even to Jullundur’.

/ਈ/ occurs only once in any one sentence. If two more elements require emphasis, /ਈ/ may be used with one and some other particle with the other, see /9.5/.ਈ does not follow interrogatives (See 5.6) or auxiliaries. When a verb phrase is emphasized by /ਈ/, the later follows the main verb, but the emphasis applies to the whole phrase:

2	3		1	
ਮੁੰਡਾ	ਰਹਿ	ਈ	ਗਿਆ।	‘The boy was left behind’.
NP	V	E	V	

Compare sentence 74, section 7.6.

/ਈ/ may occur between iterated nouns for emphasis:

ਪੱਤੇ ਈ ਪੱਤੇ ‘lots of leaves’

9.4 /ਵੀ/

/ਵੀ/ is one of the few emphatics which is fairly safely glossed. It means ‘also’. Its structural relations within sentences are very closely similar to those of /ਈ/. It follows a phrase with intonational emphasis. It cannot occur initially, and seldom occurs finally. Only one /ਵੀ/ can occur in a sentence. The following are examples:

	2	3		2		1			
119.	ਰਾਤੀਂ	ਸੁੱਤੀ	ਸੁੱਤੀ	ਵੀ	ਅਮੀ	ਅਮੀ	ਬਰੜਾਣ	ਲਗ	ਪੈਂਦੀ	ਏ।
	PP	AP		E	Voc		VP			

(ns-25)

‘At night when she is asleep, she cries, ‘‘mother, mother’.

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/ਸੁੱਤੀ/ ‘asleep’ is a past of -ਸੌਂ-‘sleep’. The iteration and the high pitch both give emphasis, and the /ਵੀ/ following reinforces that. It might be translated ‘even when she is asleep’. but that seems a bit excessive in English. /ਰਾਤੀਂ/ ‘at night’ is a locative plural, see 5.4.

	2						3		1		
120.	ਉਹਨਾਂ	ਵਿਚੋਂ	ਕਈ	ਉਸ	ਦੇ	ਚਹੇਤੇ	ਸਤਸੰਗੀਆਂ	ਦੇ	ਨਾਂ	ਵੀ	ਮੌਜੂਦ ਸਨ।
	PP		NP						E	AP	VP

‘Among them were names of several of his close friends’.

Because of the considerable length of the NP, it seems more natural to read it with the /3/ on /ਨਾ/ ‘name’ instead of at the beginning of the whole phrase. /ਕਈ/ ‘some’ seems to modify /ਸਤਸੰਗੀਆਂ/ and would normally follow /ਉਸਦੇ/ ‘his’ see 6.4.

For other examples of /ਵੀ/ see 6.11, sentences 8 and 14, and 7.6, sentence 72.

When both /ਈ/ and /ਵੀ/ occur in the same sentence, /ਈ/ accompanies the intonational emphasis, that is, /ਈ/ takes precedence over /ਵੀ/.

	2							3		1	
121.	ਹੁਣ	ਮੁਨਸ਼ੀ	ਦਾ	ਭਤਰੀਆ	ਵੀ	ਸਾਰੀ	ਉਮਰ	ਕੁਆਰਾ	ਹੀ	ਰਹੇਗਾ।	
	PP	NP			E	PP		NP	E	VP	

(m2-37)

‘Now, Munshi's nephew will remain a bachelor all his life’.

9.5 /ਜੁ/

/ਜੁ/ is similar in its patterns of use to /ਈ/. It follows immediately a phrase with emphatic intonation and reinforces the emphasis.

3		1	
ਮੋਹਣ	ਜੁ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਏ।

‘Mohan has gone to the city, so why worry’.

Compare:

3	2	1	
ਮੋਹਣ	ਈ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਏ।

‘Yes Mohan has gone to the city’.

3	2	1	
ਮੋਹਣ	ਤੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਏ।

‘(You were asking for Mohan)
‘Well, Mohan has gone to the city’.

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2 3 1
ਮੋਹਣ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਗਿਆ ਏ। ‘Well, Mohan has gone to the city’.

Constructions comparable to the last are not possible with either /ਈ/ or /ਜ਼/.

2 2 1 2 3 1
122. ਉਹ ਓਥੇ ਔਂਦਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਏ, ਪਿੰਡ ਲਾਗੇ ਜ਼ ਹੋਇਆ।
NP PP VP PP AP E VP

(ic-33)

‘He usually comes over there. After all, his village is close by’.

3
123. ਗੱਡੀ ਜ਼ ਹੋਈ, ਇਕ ਪਹੀਏ ਤੇ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਚੱਲੇ?
NP E VP PP E PP VP

(sl-65)

‘After all, it is a train; how can it run on one wheel?’

9.6 /ਤੇ/ and /ਤਾਂ/

The emphatic particle /ਤੇ/ must be distinguished from the connective /ਤੇ/ ‘and’, see 6.7 and from the postposition /ਤੇ/ ‘on’, see 5.12.

In non-initial position in a sentence, /ਤੇ/ and /ਤਾਂ/ are in free variation. With speakers of Majhi, /ਤੇ/ is more common, and with speakers of Doabi and Malwai, /ਤਾਂ/ is more common.

/ਤੇ/ either precedes or follows the phrase with higher intonation, but in either case reinforces the emphasis marked by intonation:

3 2 1
ਮੋਹਣ ਤੇ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ। ‘Mohan went to the city’.
NP E VP PP

2 3 1
ਮੋਹਣ ਤੇ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ। ‘Mohan went to the city’.
NP E VP PP

2 3 1
124. ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਜੀਭ ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਾ ਫੜੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ।
NP E VP

(m2-31)

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‘After all, you cannot hold the people's tongue’.

The following would be equivalent:

ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਜੀਭ ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਾ ਫੜੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ।
2 3 1

125. ਚਿੜੀ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਮਣੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਏ।
NP E NP VP (mz-17)

‘The sparrow is a Brahman, isn't she?’

126. ਰਿਜ਼ਕ ਤਾਂ ਰੱਬ ਨੇ ਰੱਜ ਕੇ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ।
NP E NP VP
(ic-24)

‘God has given plenty of things’.

/ਰੱਜ ਕੇ/ ‘filling’ is a sVP, and though not directly connected to /ਰਿਜ਼ਕ/ ‘things’, is best translated as ‘plenty’.

When two sentence elements are to be emphasized, /ਈ/ is commonly used for the one with major emphasis, and /ਤੇ/ for the one with minor emphasis.

2 3 1
127. ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਗੱਡੀ ਨੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ।
PP E NP VP E
(ns-45)

‘The train was not to go any farther’.

Since there can only be one /3/ in a sentence, this is on the phrase accompanied by /ਈ/. /ਤਾਂ/ accompanies a phrase with /2/, and is thus clearly subordinate to /ਈ/.

2 3 1
128. ਤੀਵੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਤੇ ਸੁਣਦਾ ਈ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ
AP E V E (ic-19)

‘Nobody pays any attention to women’.

2 3 1
129. ਪੰਜ ਸਤ ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਵੀ ਵੇਖੇ ਸੀ।
NP E NP E VP (m-105)

‘Even I saw half a dozen’.

/ਪੰਜ ਸਤ/ ‘five seven’ expresses an approximate number, see 5.9. /ਤੇ/ and /ਵੀ/ both emphasize /ਮੈਂ/, /ਵੀ/ following the same patterns as /ਈ/. See sentence 82 for another example.

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/ਤੇ/ and /ਈ/ can combine to emphasize a single phrase. In this case, /ਤੇ/ immediately follows /ਈ/.

	2	1	3			1	
130.	ਬਸ	ਜੀ,	ਤੰਗ	ਹੀ	ਤੇ	ਆ	ਗਿਆ।
			NP	E	E		

‘Yes sir, I was really annoyed’.
/ਤਾਂ/, but not /ਤੇ/ can occur initially.

	3	1	2		1		
131.	ਤਾਂ	ਭਾਈ,	ਜ਼ਰੂਰ	ਮੁੰਡੇ	ਨੂੰ	ਪੜ੍ਹਨ	ਲਾਓ।
	E	Voc	PP	NP		VP	

(so-34)

‘Then (if that is the case), brother, do send your son to school’.
Initial /ਤਾਂ/ may be immediately followed by /ਤੇ/. The combination of /ਤਾਂ ਤੇ/ functions as one unit meaning something like ‘so then’.

	2				1		
132.	ਤਾਂ	ਤੇ	ਓਨ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਸਾਡੇ	ਨਾਲ	ਜਾਣਾ।
	E	E	NP	Neg	PP		

‘So he won't go with us?’

9.7 /ਸਹੀ/ and /ਭਲਾ/

/ਸਹੀ/ and /ਭਲਾ/ generally emphasize the verb phrase and semantically indicate a sort of ultimatum. When sentence final they are always followed by /ਸਹੀ/. They most frequently occur following /ਤੇ/ or /ਤਾਂ/.

2	3	2		
ਉਹ	ਆਵੇ	ਤੇ	ਸਹੀ ।।	‘He dare not come’.
NP	VP	E	E	

2	3	2		
ਉਹ	ਆਇਆ	ਈ	ਸਹੀ ।।	‘So what if he came?’
NP	VP	E	E	

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	2			3		2	2		1
133.	ਉਹ	ਮੇਰੇ	ਨਾਲ	ਆਵੇ	ਤੇ	ਸਹੀ,	ਮੈਂ	ਉਹਨੂੰ	ਵਿਖਾਊਂਗਾ।
	NP	PP		VP	E	E			

‘Let him come with me; I will show him’.

ਉਹ	ਜਾਵੇ	ਤੇ	ਸਹੀ	ਭਲਾ ।।	‘He dare not go’.
NP	VP	E	E	E	

	2		3		1	2	3			1
134.	ਮੈਂ	ਤੇ	ਭਲਾ	ਆਖਿਆ	ਈ	ਸੀ,	ਉਹਨੂੰ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਸੀ	ਜਾਣਾ	ਚਾਹੀਦਾ।
	NP	E	E	VP		E	NP	VP			

‘Even if I said this, he shouldn't have gone’.
/ਭਲਾ/ can occur in initial position.

135.	ਭਲਾ	ਜੇ	ਤੇਰਾ	ਕੋਈ	ਨਹੀਂ,	ਤੂੰ	ਜਮ੍ਹਾ	ਕਿਦੇ	ਲਈ	ਕਰਦਾ	ਏ।
	E	Crd	PP	NP	Neg	NP	VP	PP		VP	

(m-63)

‘Well, if you don't have anyone of your own, why do you pile up all this money?’

9.8 /ਖਾਂ/

/ਖਾਂ/ is colloquial and is rarely used in the written language. It functions very much like /ਸਹੀ/ and /ਭਲਾ/. But whereas /ਸਹੀ/ and /ਭਲਾ/ can occur in the same sentence, /ਸਹੀ/ and /ਖਾਂ/ cannot. /ਖਾਂ/ can only precede /ਭਲਾ/. The combination of /ਖਾਂ/ and /ਭਲਾ/ is slightly more emphatic than either alone.

2	3	2		
ਤੂੰ	ਜਾਵੀਂ	ਖਾਂ ।।		‘You dare not go’.
NP	VP	E		

	3	2		
ਤੂੰ	ਜਾਵੀਂ	ਖਾਂ	ਭਲਾ ।।	‘You dare not go’.
NP	VP	E	E	

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9.9 /ਹਾਂ/

/ਹਾਂ/ occurs only at the beginning of a sentence and is followed by /,/ It can often be translated ‘of course’, however.

136. ਹਾਂ, ਸਮਾਂ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਰੰਗ ਇਕੋ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਏ।
E SVP NP AP VP

(m-26)

‘Of course, in due course both have the same colour’.

137. ਹਾਂ, ਸਾਹੜੀ ਦੇ ਫੁਲ ਹਰ ਵਾਰੀ ਵੱਖਰੇ ਹੁੰਦੇ।
E NP PP VP

(m-125)

‘However, the Sari had a different print every time’.

9.10 /ਹੈ/

The emphatic particle /ਹੈ/ is used both in written and spoken Punjabi. It must not be confused with auxiliary /ਹੈ/ which is used only in literary language and only at the end of clauses; /ਏ/ is used in its place in all colloquial and much written Punjabi.

The emphatic particle /ਹੈ/ can occur anywhere in the sentence, but cannot interrupt phrase units. It frequently accompanies /ਤੇ/. At the beginning of a sentence /ਹੈ/ precedes /ਤੇ/; elsewhere /ਤੇ/ precedes /ਹੈ/.

2 3 3
ਉਹ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਤੇ ਹੈ। ‘Are you sure he is going?’
NP VP E E

3 2 2 3 1
ਕਰਦਾ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਬਣਦਾ ਕੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ।
VP E NP E

‘Even though he tries hard, he doesn't succeed’.

138. ਹੈ ਤੇ ਸੀ ਕਾਣਾ, ਪਰ ਬੜਾ ਲਾਇਕ।
E E VP NP

(m2-34)

‘Even though he was a one-eyed man, he was very intelligent’.

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9.11 /ਥੁਹੜਾ/

The emphatic particle /ਥੁਹੜਾ/ follows a noun phrase with high pitch. It gives a general negative emphasis to the sentence.

3 1
ਮੈਂ ਥੁਹੜਾ ਆਖਿਆ ਸੀ? 'I didn't say. did I?'
NP E VP

It is sometimes inflected for gender and number, but this is optional.

3 1
ਉਹ ਥੁਹੜਾ ਗਏ ਸਨ? 'They didn't go, did they?'
NP E VP

It may also give some specific emphasis on the noun phrase.

2 2 1
ਅਸੀਂ ਥੁਹੜਾ ਖੇਡੇ ਸਾਂ ਓਥੇ? 'We weren't playing there'.
NP E VP PP

9.12 /ਕਾਹਦਾ/

The emphatic particle /ਕਾਹਦਾ/ occurs only in coordinate sentences, see chapter 10. It always precedes a verb phrase and is inflected for gender and number to agree with the verb.

3 1 3 1
ਆਦਮੀ ਕਾਹਦਾ ਸੀ, ਦੇ ਸੀ।
NP E VP NP VP

'He wasn't a man, he was a giant'.

139 ਹੱਟੀ ਕਾਹਦੀ ਸੀ, ਖਾਣ ਸੀ।
NP E VP NP VP (m2-26)

'That was not just a shop, that was a mine'.

140 ਮੈਂ ਗਲ ਕਾਹਦੀ ਕਰ ਬੈਠਾ, ਉਹ ਮੇਰੇ ਗਲ ਈ ਪੈ ਗਿਆ।
NP NP E VP NP NP E VP

'I just happened to say this and he was after me like anything'.

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9.13 /ਕਿ/

Emphatic /ਕਿ/ always occurs finally, after the verb phrase. It frequently means something like ‘after all’, ‘that's all’.

	2	3			2			
141.	ਅਸੀਂ	ਦਰਸ਼ਨ	ਈ	ਕਰਨੇ	ਨੇ	ਕਿ	//	
	NP	NP	E	VP		E		(m-29)

‘We just want to pay a visit, after all’.

2	3		2			
ਤੁਸੀਂ	ਜਾਣਾ	ਈ	ਆ	ਕਿ	//	
NP	VP	E		E		

‘All you want to do is to go’.

2	3	2				
ਉਹਨਾਂ	ਆਉਣਾ	ਈ	ਆ	ਕਿ	//	
NP	VP	E		E		

‘After all, they'll come’.

2	3	2			
ਉਹਨਾ	ਕਿਹਾ	ਸੀ	ਕਿ		//
NP	VP		E		

‘He did say so, didn't he?’

9.14 /ਗਾ/

The emphatic particle /ਗਾ/ is used only in colloquial, where it is common in very informal speech, but rare or absent in formal. It occurs after the emphatic particle /ਹੈ/ or after auxiliaries. It is inflected to show concord for number and gender.

	2							3			1	2	1	
141a.	ਓਥੇ	ਉਹਨਾ	ਦਾ	ਕੋਈ	ਫੌਜ	ਦਾ	ਆਪਣਾ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਹੈ	ਗਾ	ਸੀ	ਡੰਗਰ	ਢੋਰ।	
	PP	sNP						Neg	E	E	Awp	SNP		
														(R)

‘There the army did not have its own cattle’.
The two parts of the sentences marked sNP are actually one discontinous phrase.

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	2	1	3			1		
142.	ਆਂਹਦੇ	,	ਹੁਣੇ	ਈ	ਸੀ	ਗੀ	ਏਥੇ।	
	V		PP	E	An	E	PP	

(D)

'They said, she was here just now'.

9.15 /ਨਾ/

/ਨਾ/ is one of three negatives, /ਨਹੀਂ/, /ਨਾਂਹ/, and /ਨਾਂ/. /ਨਾਂਹ/ is a feminine singular noun and is used in such contexts as the following:

2	3	1	
ਉਹਨੇ	ਨਾਂਹ	ਕੀਤੀ।	'He said no'.
NP	NP	VP	

3	2	1	
ਉਹਨੇ	ਨਾਂਹ	ਕੀਤੀ।	'He said no'.

/ਨਾਂਹ/ is not strictly an emphatic, but there is usually some sort of emphasis marker in sentences in which /ਨਾਂਹ/ occurs.

/ਨਹੀਂ/ is the usual negative in most contexts. It is used independently or loosely connected to a sentence to mean 'no'.

ਨਹੀਂ	ਮੋਹਣ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਗਿਆ।	'No, Mohan didn't go'.
	NP	VP		

Within sentences it usually occurs within the verb phrase. The normal order of such negative verb phrase differs from that of affirmative. See 7.6. However, it may be moved to some other position for emphasis:

	3		2	1	2		2	1	
143.	ਮੈਂ	ਨੀ	ਦੁਧ	ਪੀਣਾ,	ਮੈਂ	ਤਾਂ	ਰੋਟੀ	ਖਾਣੀ	ਐ।
	SNP	Neg	oNP	VP	SNP	E	oNP	VP	

(SS-1)

'I won't drink milk, I want to eat bread'.
This sentence is in Malwai dialect, in Majhi would be:
ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀ ਦੁਧ ਪੀਣਾ, ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਰੋਟੀ ਖਾਣੀ ਏ।

A less emphatic form would be:
ਮੈਂ ਦੁਧ ਨਹੀ ਪੀਣਾ, ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਰੋਟੀ ਖਾਣੀ ਏ।

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/ਨਹੀਂ/ is not used with the imperative or hortative forms of the verb, see 7.6. Instead, /ਨਾ/ is the usual negative.

	2								3		1
144.	ਉਹਨੂੰ	ਖਾ	ਪੀ	ਕੇ	ਤੇ	ਲੁਕਣ	ਨੂੰ	ਮੁੜ ਕੇ	ਥਾਂ,	ਨਾ	ਲੱਭੇ।
	NP	VP			C	PP		PP	NP	VP	

(D)

'After eating and drinking everything, she couldn't find a place to hide'.

/ਨਾ/ is used as an emphatic particle. In this use it comes at the end of the sentence with // //, or following certain other emphatics. It can often be translated by an English echo question.

	2	3	2		
	ਉਹ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	ਨਾ ।।	'He went, didn't he?'
	2	3		2	
	ਉਹ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਸੀ	ਗਿਆ ਨਾ।।	'He didn't go, did he?'

	2		3		1		2	3		2
145.	ਜੇ	ਮੈਂ	ਤੇਰੇ	ਈ	ਵਟ	ਕੱਢ	ਛੱਡਦਾ,	ਤੇ	ਚੰਗਾ	ਸੀ	ਨਾ।।
	C	NP	NP		VP		C	AP	VP	E	

m-(95)

'If I had set you right, it would have been much better, wouldn't it?' (Lit: 'If I had ironed out your wrinkles…..)'.

	2	2	3				2	
146.	ਬਸ,	ਬੇਬੇ	ਗੱਲਾਂ	ਈ	ਕਰਨ	ਜੋਗੀ	ਏ	ਨਾ।।
		NP	AP				VP	E

(ic-23)

'Bebe is good for nothing except talking, isn't she'.

	3					2		2
147.	ਐਸ	ਹੱਟੀ	ਵਾਲੇ	ਦੀ	ਗਲ	ਕਰਦੀ	ਏ	ਨਾ।।
	NP					VP		E

(m2-29)

'Are you talking about this shopkeeper?'

/ਨਾ/ can occur with various other emphatic particles at the end of sentences, but commonly only with /ਹੈ/. Elsewhere:

3	2	2		
ਨਹੀਂ	ਤੇ	ਨਾ	ਸਹੀ //	'If no, let it be no, (what do I care?)'

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3 2 1
ਹੈ ਨਾ ਬੜਾ ਸੁਹਣਾ // 'Isn't he handsome?'

(ic-29)

/ਨਾ/ is also used as connective. In the form /ਨਾ.....ਨਾ...../ 'It means neither…..nor…..'. This may join clauses or certain phrase units, see sentence 24, 6.11.

3		1		2		3			1
ਨਾ	ਈ	ਉਹ	ਘਰ	ਆਇਆ,	ਨਾ	ਓਨ	ਕੋਈ	ਕੰਮ	ਈ	ਕੀਤਾ।।
C	E	NP	NP	VP	C	NP	NP			VP

(m-31)

'He neither came home, nor did he do anything'.

148. ਪੂਰੀ ਨਾ ਏਥੇ ਪਈ, ਨਾ ਓਥੇ ਪੈਣੀ ਏ।
NP C PP VP C PP VP

(m-31)

'Neither he could succeed here, nor he has any chance there'.

A single /ਨਾ/ is used between identical verb forms to mean 'or not'. The resulting construction is nominal.

2 3 1
ਮੇਰਾ ਕਿਹਾ ਨਾ ਕਿਹਾ ਇਕ ਬਰਾਬਰ।
NP AP

'Whether I say so or not doesn't make any difference'.
(Lit. My saying or no saying is equivalent to one').

9.16 Iteration

Iteration is a common device for emphasis.

Nouns:

149. ਪਿੰਡ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਿਚ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਗੁੱਸਾ ਸੀ।
PP PP AP VP

(i-99)

'In every village the people were furious with the Government'.

Adjectives:

150. ਏਥੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਜੀ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ, ਮੈਂ ਚੰਗਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਦਿੱਸਾਂ।
PP NP VP NP AP VP

(gs-16)

'Here I wanted to appear very nice'.

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Adverbs:

151. ਬਿਜੈ ਸਿੰਘ ਵੀ ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਮਿਹਨਤੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਰਲਣ ਦਾ
NP PP NP
ਜਤਨ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ।
VP

(S-121)

'Every once in a while Bije Singh would make an effort to be with these industrious people'.

Verbs:

152. ਸੋਚਦੇ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਬਿਰਤੀ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਕਿੱਕਰ ਦੇ ਦਰਖਤਾਂ ਵਲ ਜਾਂਦੀ।
VP NP PP VP

'In this reflective mood, his thoughts would turn toward those Kiker trees'. (Lit: Thinking thinking. his thoughts….)

153. ਮੇਰੇ ਕਹਿੰਦੀ ਕਹਿੰਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਤੇਰੇ ਵਾਲੀ ਰੋਟੀ ਕੁਟੀਆ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਾਧ ਨੂੰ ਦੇ
PP NP NP VP
ਦਿਤੀ।

'In spite of my objections, she gave the bread to the Sadhu from the Kutia'. (Lit: 'From my speaking speaking, she…..).

See also sentences, 51, 52.

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CHAPTER 10

CO-ORDINATION AND SENTENCE SEQUENCING

10.1 CO-ORDINATION AND BALANCE

Many Punjabi sentences are composed of two or occasionally more clauses in a co-ordinate construction. These are typically joined by certain co-ordinating elements, connectives, pronouns, or adverbs. Often these are in pairs, one introducing each clause. The two clauses are typically connected by /,/. In this chapter, we will list and examplify a number of these coordinating patterns.

There are also strong tendencies toward structural parallelism in the two clauses in co-ordinate sentences. This is to be sure a tendency rather than an absolute requirement, but it is sufficiently strong to be of considerable importance. Many of the examples below will be spaced out to show this parallelism. A few general features are worth note at this point. In other instances, one clause is an expansion of the other……it has the same elements in the same order but with one additional element. There is a strong tendency to balance in verbal phrases. That is, both phrases commonly have the same number of elements, sometimes the same internal structure.

Finally, there is a strong tendency to omit from subsequent clauses elements which if included would be exactly identical. This omission of elements is an important signal of sequential relationships between clauses. A simple example of such omission is the following:

ਜੇ ਉਹ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਸੀ, ਤਾਂ ਤੂੰ ਵੀ।
'If he could go, you could go too'.

We may consider that the second clause contains by implication /ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਸੀ/. This omission, the pair of coordinate markers /ਜੇ.....ਤਾਂ...../ 'if…then……' and the emphatic /ਸੀ/ are all important structural markers in such a sentence.

154. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਏਡੇ ਈ ਜੁਆਨ ਓ, ਜੇਡਾ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ, ਤੇ
NP PP AP VP NP NP [VP] C
ਏਡੇ ਈ ਬੁੱਢੇ, ਜੇਡੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਸ਼ੰਕਾ।
[NP] PP AP[VP] NP NP [VP]
(g-113)

'You are young to the extent you have confidence, and old to the extent you have doubts'.

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The square brackets [ ] indicate sentence elements which are omitted. For example, the second clause must be considered as parallel to the following independent clause form: /ਏਡਾ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਏ/ ‘You have this much confidence’.

155.	ਜਿਹੜੇ	ਦਿਨ	ਉਹ	ਚਪੜਾਸੀ		ਦੀ	ਤ੍ਰੀਮਤ	ਹਸਪਤਾਲ	ਵਿਚ	ਰਹੀ
	PP		NP					PP		VP
	ਉਸ	ਨੂੰ	ਬਾਕੀਆਂ	ਵਰਗੀ	ਖੁਰਾਕ	ਮਿਲਦੀ	ਰਹੀ,	ਬਾਕੀਆਂ		
	NP		PP		NP	VP		PP		
	ਵਾਂਗ	ਉਹਦੀਆਂ		ਚਾਦਰਾਂ	ਬਦਲਦੀਆਂ		ਰਹੀਆਂ,	ਬਾਕੀਆਂ		
		NP			VP			PP		
	ਵਾਂਗ	ਉਹਦੇ	ਬੱਚੇ	ਨਾਲ	ਲਾਡ	ਹੁੰਦੇ	ਰਹੇ।			
		PP			NP	VP				

(d-83)

‘All those days when the wife of that peon was in the hospital, she was given food like the others, her bedsheets were changed like the others, and her child was loved like the others’.

The second, third, and fourth clauses show very close parallelism in structure. The second has one phrase /ਉਸ ਨੂੰ/ ‘to her’ which is without parallels, and the fourth has /ਉਹਦੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਨਾਲ/ ‘with her children’. However, there is another kind of parallelism which cuts across the three - - that between /ਉਸ ਨੂੰ/, /ਉਹਦੀਆਂ/, and /ਉਹਦੇ/ - - which further ties the clauses together.

156.	ਜਦੋਂ	ਸੇਖੋਂ	ਨੇ	ਚੋਣਵੀਆਂ		ਪੰਜਾਬੀ	ਕਹਾਣੀਆਂ	ਦਾ	ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹਿ	
	Crd	NP		NP						
	ਛਾਪਣਾ	ਕੀਤਾ,	ਤਾਂ	ਮੈਂ	ਪੰਜਾਬੀ	ਵਿਚ				
	VP		Crd	NP	PP					
	ਪਹਿਲੀ	ਕਹਾਣੀ	ਮੇਰੀ	ਨਾਨੀ	ਲਿਖੀ।					
					VP					

(m-19)

‘When Sekhon decided to publish a selection of Punjabi short stories, I wrote my first story in Punjabi, ‘‘My Grand-mother’’.

In proverbs and similar very idiomatic expressions, there may be dropping of parallel elements from both clauses:

157.	ਜਿਹੀ	ਮਾਂ	ਉਜਿਹਾ	ਪੁੱਤਰ
	PP	NP[VP]	PP	NP[VP] 1

(n-151)

Like mother, like son.

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10.2 CONNECTIVES

The are four simple connectives which join clauses:
/ਤੇ/ ‘and’.

158. ਖੋਹ ਲੈ ਭੈਣ ਦਾ ਬਟੂਆ, ਤੇ ਕੱਢ ਲੈ
VP oNP VP
ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਸਵਾ ਪਈਆ।
PP oNP

‘Snatch away sister's purse and take out a rupee and a quarter’.
See also sentences, 10, 189, 193, 199.

/ਜਾਂ/ ‘or’.

159 ਤਾਜ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਉਸ ਲਈ ਉੱਚਾ ਸੀ, ਜਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੇ
sNP PP PP AP VP PP
ਪੱਥਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਲਈ ਹੂਟਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ।
PP NP VP

(gs-77)

‘Perhaps the Taj was too high for him, or its stone could not give him a swing’ (concerning a pigeon).

/ਪਰ/ ‘but’.

160 ਉਹ ਸਹਿਮ ਗਈ, ਪਰ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਆ ਗਈ।

(gs-30)

‘She was frightened, but she came to me’.
See also sentences 166, 175.

/ਕਿ/ ‘that’.

161. ਮੈਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਸੀ, ਕਿ ਪਜਾਮੇ ਕਮੀਜ਼ਾਂ
cNP sNP mVP C sNP
ਮੈਲੀਆ ਨੇ।
AP mVP

(m-97)

‘Did anyone tell me that pyjamas and shirts were dirty?’

162. ਇਹ ਖਿਆਲ ਕਰਕੇ ਬੜਾ ਦੁਖ ਹੋਇਆ, ਕਿ ਮੇਰੀ ਚੂਹੜੀ
sVP NP VP C NP
ਕੁੜੀ ਵੀ ਏਸੇ ਨਰਕ ਦੀ ਵਾਸੀ ਸੀ।
NP VP

(gs-41)

‘I was much disturbed at the thought that my outcaste girl was also a dweller in this hellish place’.
See also sentences 187, 192.

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/ਜਾਂ/ occasionally introduces both clauses:

ਜਾਂ	ਉਹ	ਏਥੇ	ਰਹੇਗਾ	ਜਾਂ	ਬਾਹਰ	ਜਾਏਗਾ।
C	NP	PP	VP	C[NP]	PP	VP

'Either he will stay here or go out'.
/ਨਾ/ as a connective joining clauses is most usually used before both clauses:

ਨਾ	ਤਾਂ	ਓਨ	ਏਥੇ	ਕੋਈ	ਕੰਮ	ਈ	ਕੀਤਾ,
C	E	NP	PP				VP
ਨਾ	ਈ	ਉਹ	ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ।			
C	E	NP	PP	VP			

'Neither did he do anything useful here, nor did he go to city'.

163.	ਮੈਂ	ਨਾ	ਚਕੋਰ	ਵੇਖਿਆ	ਸੀ,	ਨਾ	ਚਕੋਰੀ।
	NP	C	NP	VP		[NP]C	NP[VP]

(m-27)

'Neither had I seen Chakor, nor Chakori'.
For additional examples, see sentences 84, 148.

/ਨਾ/ is used as a connective and for introducing a second clause when the first clause is negative with /ਨਹੀਂ/. The combination /ਨਹੀਂ.....ਤਾਂ ਨਾ...../ means something like 'if not'. ……then let it be not…..'.

164.	ਚੰਗਾ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਮੰਨਣਾ	ਤਾਂ	ਨਾ	ਮੰਨ।
	AP	VP		C	C	VP

(ic-39)

'Well, if you do not agree, who cares?'

10.3 /ਜੇ.....ਤਾਂ/

/ਜੇ/ 'if ' is frequently used to introduce one clause, the other being introduced by /ਤੇ/ 'or' /ਤਾਂ/ 'then'.

165.	ਜੇ	ਤਾਂਗੇ	ਤੇ	ਚੜ੍ਹਨਾ	ਹੋਵੇ,	ਤੇ	ਕਰਾਇਆ	ਪਹਿਲੋਂ	ਪੁੱਛੀਦਾ।
	Crd	PP		VP		Crd	NP	PP	NP

(R)

'If you want to hire a tonga, then you should first ask the price'.
Note that /ਤੇ/ in the first clause is a postposition 'on'.

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166. ਪਰ ਜੇ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਚਾਹੇ, ਤਾਂ ਸਾਰੀ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਨੂੰ
C Crd NP NP Crd NP
ਰੁਹਾਨੀ ਬਣਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਏ।
NP VP (g-126)

'If man wills, he can make this whole world a spiritual dwelling'.
For additional examples, see sentences 110, 114.

167 ਭਲਾ ਜੇ ਪਸ਼ੂ ਦੁੱਧ ਦੇਂਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਜਾਂ ਹਲ ਵਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ,
Crd NP NP VP C NP VP
ਤਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਗਲ ਹੋਈ।
Crd E NP VP
(m-47)

'Of course, if the cattle give milk or are useful for ploughing, then it is a different matter'.
/ਤਾਂ/ 'then' is also occasionally used after other co-ordinates:

168. ਹੁਣ ਜਦ ਜੀਵਨ ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ, ਤਾਂ ਪਰੇਮ ਵਾਂਗ ਦਇਆ
ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਅਮੋਲਕ ਜਾਪਣ ਲਗਾ।
(ss-113)

'Now when life was coming to an end, like love it seemed dearer to Daya Kaur'.
For an additional example with /ਜਦੋਂ.....ਤਾਂ/, see sentence 97.

10.4 CORRELATIVES

Some of the most frequent types of co-ordinate constructions involve the use of two correlatives from the same set. These are tabulated in 5.6, except that the following were accidentally omitted.

9.	ਏਡਾ	ਓਡਾ	ਜੇਡਾ	ਕਿੱਡਾ
	'this much'	'that much'	'as much'	'how much'
10.	ਏਨਾ	ਓਨਾ	ਜਿੰਨਾ	ਕਿੰਨਾ
	'this much'	'that much'	'as much'	'how much?'
11.	...	...	ਜਦ	ਕਦ
			'when'	'when?'
12.	ਏਦੋਂ	ਓਦੋਂ	ਜਦੋਂ	ਕਦੋਂ
	'from now'	'since then'	'when'	'when?'

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One type uses a ‘J-word’ (i.e., one of the words in the third column) to introduce the first clause, and an ‘O-word’ to introduce the second. These may be any of the several pairs in the tabulation:

169. ਜਿੱਥੇ ਸੁੰਦਰਤਾ ਪਾਪ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਏ
NP PP VP
ਉਥੇ ਨਾ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਨਾ ਰਬ ਤੇ ਨਾ
NP
ਮਜ਼ੂਬ ਦੇ ਅਰਥ ਸਮਝੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ।
VP

(g-115)

‘Where beauty is associated with evil, life and God and religion have no significance’.

170. ਜਿੰਨਾ ਵੱਧ ਲਿਖਾਂਗੇ ਉਨੇ ਵੱਧ ਪੈਸੇ ਮਿਲਣਗੇ।

(m-88)

‘The more we write, the more money we get’.

‘The J-word is most often initial in its clause, but occasionally it may be found in some other position:

171. ਮੌਜੂ ਮਾਜਰੇ ਦਾ ਜੋ ਲਾਲ ਘਗਰਾ ਸੀ ਉਹ ਇੰਦਰ
ਪ੍ਰਸਥ ਦੀ ਲਾਲ ਅੰਗੀ ਸੀ।

‘What was ‘red skirt’ in Mauju Majra, was ‘red jacket’ in Inder Prasth’.

Two of the sets are incomplete. /ਇਹ ਉਹ/ are used in place of the missing members of the set /ਜਿਹੜਾ ਕਿਹੜਾ/ and /ਏਦੋਂ ਓਦੋਂ/ to complete the set /ਜਦ ਕਦ/:

172. ਜਿਹੜਾ ਨਿਰਭੈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਉਹ ਅਡੋਲ ਨਹੀਂ।

‘He who is not fearless, is not stable’.

When the correlatives are inflected, as are the pronominal and adjectival ones, it is necessary that the pair be in the same form. Sentence 170 shows /ਜਿੰਨਾ/ in masculine singular, and /ਉਹਨੇ/ in masculine plural to agree with /ਪੈਸੇ/ ‘money’.

The following shows /ਜੋ.....ਉਹ/ in two different cases:

173. ਜਿਸ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਦਾ ਸਾਂ, ਉਹਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਤੇਰਾਂ ਕੁ
ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀ ਮੁੰਡੇ ਪੜ੍ਹਦੇ ਸਨ।

(gs-49)

‘The university where I was studying, there were about thirteen other Indian students’.

Much less frequently, the J-word introduces the second clause and the O-word the first:

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174. ਆਦਮੀ ਓਨਾ ਈ ਚੰਗਾ ਏ,
ਜਿੰਨਾ ਉਹ ਮਿੱਟਾ ਹੋਵੇ।
'The more loving a man is, the better'.

Also less frequent is the use of a J-word and an E-word (one from the first column in the table of correlatives). In this combination the J-word will usually occur in the second clause.

175. ਪਰ ਇਓਂ ਜਾਪਦਾ,
ਜਿਵੇਂ ਦੋ ਸਦੀਆਂ ਹੋ ਗਈਆਂ ਨੇ।
(m-89)
'But it looks as if two centuries have passed'.

/ਇਉਂ/ 'this' is a dialect variant of /ਇਵੇਂ/, and is thus in the same set with /ਜਿਵੇਂ/.
For additional examples, see sentences 17 and 154.

In a few of the correlative sets there is a special member which is used only as an introducer of a second clause in a co-ordinate construction. These form the following pairs:

/ਜੋ.....ਸੋ...../, /ਜਿਵੇਂ.....ਤਿਵੇਂ...../, /ਜਦ.....ਤਦ...../, and /ਜਦੋਂ.....ਤਦੋਂ...../.

176. ਜੋ ਫੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੋ ਚੋਰ। (m-123)
'He who is caught is a thief '.

177.	ਦੂਜੇ	ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ	ਵਿਚ	ਜਦ	ਤੀਕ	ਦੋਹਾਂ	ਦਾ	ਜੁਟ	ਕਾਇਮ	ਹੈ,
						sNP			cNP	VP
	ਤਦ	ਤੀਕ	ਦੋਹਾਂ	ਦੀ	ਵਾ	ਵਲ	ਕੋਈ	ਨਹੀਂ	ਤਕ	ਸਕਦਾ।
			PP				sNP	VP		

(nS-212)

'In other words, as long as they are united, no body dare touch them'.
Notice that the sentence is arranged to emphasize the parallelism of /ਦੋਹਾਂ ਦੀ/ 'of the two of them', even though these are embedded in structures that are not at all parallel.

Co-ordinates can be repeated for emphasis:

178. ਜਿਵੇਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਲੜਾਈ ਵਧਦੀ ਗਈ, ਤਿਵੇਂ ਤਿਵੇਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਿਲ
ਉਦਾਸ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਗਏ।
'As the war lingered on, the people were dejected'.

For a complex co-ordination with /ਜਦ.....ਤਦ...../, see the poem 202.

Occasionally, the O-word of a co-ordinate pair is omitted. In most such cases it could very readily be supplied without making any major alteration in the sentence.

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179. ਜਦੋਂ ਮਨੁਖ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਜਜ਼ਬਾ ਧਰ ਕੇ ਸੋਹਿਜ ਪਰਖਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਅੱਖ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੀ ਬ੍ਰਹਿਮੰਡ ਦੀ ਕਾਇਆ ਪਲਟ ਗਈ।

(g-116)

'When man's heart began to beat with emotion, and his beauty-conscious eye was opened, then the nature of the universe was changed'.

To make this sentence, /ਤੇ/ 'and' should be added to introduce the second clause and /ਓਦੋਂ/ or /ਤਦੋਂ/ to introduce the third. The omission of the correlative pair is a stylistic device more frequent in poetry than prose.

For additional examples, see sentences 31, 49.

10.5 OTHER PATTERNS OF CO-ORDINATION

Co-ordination clauses are frequently marked by other pairs of associated and usually contrasting words. The following are merely examples of many possibilities.

/ਇਕ.....ਦੂਜਾ...../ 'one…..second' /ਪਹਿਲਾ/ 'first' is not used with /ਦੂਜਾ/.

180 ਇਕ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਤਕੜਾ ਸੀ, ਦੂਜਾ ਗੁੱਸੇ ਖੋਰ।

'He was strong to begin with, and on top of that he was bad tempered'.

See also sentence 53.

/ਪਹਿਲਾਂ.....ਫੇਰ/ 'first…..then'.

181. ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਉਹ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਆਇਆ,ਫਿਰ ਤੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਫਿਰ ਉਹਦੇ ਕੋਲ।

'First he came to me, then to you, and afterwards to him'.

/ਪਹਿਲੋਂ.....ਪਿਛੋਂ...../ 'first…..afterwards……..'.

182. ਮੇਰੀ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਨਾਲ ਏ, ਕਿ ਓਸ ਜਨਾਨੀ ਨੇ ਪਹਿਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਿਆ, ਤੇ ਪਿਛੋਂ ਕੀ?

(m-50)

'I am interested in what that woman thought in the beginning and what she thought later on'.

Note that the last clause, being largely identical with the preceding, has most of the elements omitted. The full form would be /ਓਸ ਜਨਾਨੀ ਨੇ ਪਿਛੋਂ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਿਆ/.

Sentence 157, /ਜਿਹੀ ਮਾਂ, ਓਜਿਹਾ ਪੁੱਤਰ/ examplifies another pair of words used to mark Co-ordination /ਜਿਹੀ....ਉਜਿਹਾ...../.

Sentence 192 includes a co-ordinate construction with /ਭਾਵੇਂ.....ਭਾਵੇਂ/ 'if….if…..' /ਭਾਵੇਂ ਸਰਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਣ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਗਰਮੀਆਂ/ 'whether it is winter or summer'.

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See also line k in the poem 202 in section 10.12.

10.6 STYLES

There is great stylistic variation in Punjabi. This finds expression in particularly vocabulary selection and in syntax. While detailed treatment of style is outside the scope of a reference grammar, certain aspects of the variation in syntax cannot be overlooked. Only one dimension of variation can be discussed here. The two poles can be labelled literary and colloquial. The first is typical of written essays and the more formal parts of short stories and novels. The latter is typical of informal spoken conversation and oral telling of tales. Conversation in plays and some novels approximates to the colloquial….indeed in a few instances exaggerates colloquial usage. Formal public speaking approximate closely to literary Punjabi. The two types therefore, form the two ends of a complex continuum of variation. Much of the material in the language can be profitably considered as a mixture of the two styles lying at some point along the continuum. Some features of the syntactic differences between the two styles are essential background for understanding sentence sequencing.

10.7 WORD ORDER

The order of words within phrases is very largely fixed in all types of Punjabi except poetic language, see 10.12. This order for noun and adjective phrases has been described in Chapter 6. With very few exceptions, modifiers precede the heads. When there are two or more modifiers, the order is generally fixed. When, however, noun has a complex modifier, particularly if there are two such, it is common for such a modifier to be totally removed from the phrase and to be treated as a semi-independent element. The following is a relatively simple case:

183.	ਅੱਛਾ	ਬਕਲੋਹ	ਦੇ	ਵਿਚ	ਇਕ	ਛੌਣੀ	ਹੁੰਦੀ	ਸੀ,	ਬੜੀ	ਵੱਡੀ।
		PP			NP		VP		AP	(R)

‘Well, there used to be a very big cantonement in Bakloh’.
In a more literary style this sentence would be:

ਬਕਲੋਹ	ਦੇ	ਵਿਚ	ਇਕ	ਬੜੀ	ਵੱਡੀ	ਛੌਣੀ	ਹੁੰਦੀ	ਸੀ।
PP			NP			VP		

Separating in AP from the NP in this way serves to put emphasis on it. If /ਬੜੀ ਵੱਡੀ/ is not separated from the NP, its position with in the NP is fixed.

/ਇਕ ਬੜੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਛੌਣੀ/ ‘a very large cantonement’ is possible, /ਬੜੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਇਕ ਛੌਣੀ/ is not possible as a single phrase.

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Within verbal phrases there is also very largely fixed order. The only exception is in the position of the negator and auxiliary in negative sentences. These normally precede all the verbs in the phrase but exceptionally may come between two of them:

ਉਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ। 'He cannot go'.
ਉਹ ਜਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਕਦਾ। 'He cannot go'.

If certain emphatics occur in the verbal phrase, the order is different, but the change is required:

ਉਹ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਈ ਨਹੀਂ। 'He certainly cannot go'.

10.8 PHRASE ORDER

In contrast to this very strict ordering of words within phrases, the order of phrases in clauses is very free. It is, however, much freer in colloquial Punjabi than in literary. In the latter there is sufficient uniformity to establish certain orders as normal. Other orders can then be considered as departures from these norms. In colloquial Punjabi, the order is so free that no norms can be established from colloquial materials alone. It is of course possible to consider the literary norms as applicable to all forms, but it is not certain that it is profitable to do so.

The following can be considered as normal literary clause patterns:

sNP + Loc + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਗਿਆ। 'Mohan went to the city'

sNP + iNP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਿਆ। 'Mohan saw Sohan'.

sNP + iNP + oNP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਪਿਆਲੀ ਦਿਤੀ। 'Mohan gave Sohan a cup'.

sNP + cNP + mVP
ਮੋਹਣ ਚੰਗਾ ਆਦਮੀ ਏ। 'Mohan is a good man'.

Beyond these, however, very little can be said about normal order of clause elements even for literary Punjabi. Most locative, temporal, manner, and other post-positional phrases have no clearly recognizable normal position. The mVP is normally final in the clause, but these and the various types of subordinate verbal phrases can occur anywhere before it.

It should be emphasized that the statements just made about order are statements about norms. Departures are fairly frequent, even in the most formal literary language. The examples given in previous chapters will show a variety of orders. Sentences with departures from the norms of order are by no means exceptional. In much formal Punjabi

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writing they are very frequent. In works generally considered representative of good literary style strict adherence to the norms is exceptional.

The following sentence is in normal order. It will serve as one example to indicate the possibilities:

184. ਸਾਰਾ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ ਹੀ ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ।
sNP PP mVP

(m-74)

'The whole establishment is based on pride'.

Having three sentence elements, six permutations are possible. All are acceptable sentence orders. Some comments, however, are in order. The place of major emphasis in a sentence is usually initial. The second place of emphasis is after /,/ at the end of the sentence. Various arrangements will provide various combinations of emphasis. Since the sNP has an attached /ਈ/ there is always some sort of emphasis on this element. The re-arrangements merely provide additional emphasis or revalue the emphasis on certain elements.

(b) ਸਾਰਾ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ ਈ ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ, ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ।
sNP mVP PP

In arrangement (b) there is secondry emphasis on the PP.

(c) ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ, ਸਾਰਾ ਈ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ।
PP mVP sNP

Arrangement (c) also has emphasis on both the sNP and the PP. However, (c) gives somewhat greater emphasis to the PP than does (b). Here, much will depend on the stress patterns. If /ਹਉਮੈ/ has /3/, this will be maximal.

(d) ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਰਾ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ ਈ ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ।
PP sNP sNP

Arrangement (d) also puts considerable emphasis on the PP, and perhaps somewhat less on the sNP than does (c).

(e) ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ, ਸਾਰਾ ਈ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ।
mVP PP sNP

Arrangements (e) puts the emphasis on the mVP and the sNP. The balance of emphasis depends on the pitch distribution as in (c).

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Note the order in the sNP - - this change is required: /ਈ/ cannot stand in sentence final position; it, therefore, stands before the last word in the phrase to be emphasized when the phrase is final. Otherwise, it usually occurs at the end of the phrase.

(f) ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ ਸਾਰਾ ਹੀ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ, ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ।

Arrangement (f) gives a certain emphasis to all three elements, but again just how this would work out in detail depends on the pitch patterns. Any intonation which tended to equalize the emphasis on the three elements would be most unusual.

In the above examples /,/ has been written in some. In general /,/ is not to be expressed in (a) or (d) - - the ones with mVP final and in its usual position - - and is quite usual in all others - - ones where the final element is out of normal position. This is one of the considerations that leads to recognizing (a) as the norm. In most, /,/ is only possible before the third element. However, in (f) it would pe possible after the first element:

(g) ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਏ ਸਾਰਾ ਕਾਰਖਾਨਾ ਈ, ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਲ।
mVP sNP PP

This would increase the emphasis on the mVP. In general, emphasis is increased in shorter intonation spans.

A second sentence will illustrate some further features:

185. ਨਾਲੇ ਭਾਈ ਆਤਮਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੇਲੀ ਸਨ।
C sNP cNP VP

(m-2-75)

‘Moreover, Bhai Atma Singh was a friend of the sadhus’.

Twenty-four permutations of the four elements are possible. Most of them are acceptable sentences. It is not feasible to list them all and comment individually. Those arrangements with the VP /ਸਨ/ initial are considerably less likely than most of the others. /ਨਾਲੇ/ is most likely to be in initial position; for it to follow the first phrase is almost as probable; but the probability declines considerably if /ਨਾਲੇ/ is put still later in the sentence. It is not possible for /ਨਾਲੇ/ to occur in the second intonation span. That is, it must precede /,/ if this occurs. The combination of these preferences will make some of the twenty-four permutations highly improbable, and a few impossible. Others, however, will be highly likely. In this respect this sentence is distinctly different from 184 in which none of the permutations can be said to be highly improbable, though, of course, even there they are not all equally likely.

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There is an additional complication in sentence 185. /ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ/ ‘of the Sadhus’ is an AP contained in the cNP /ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੇਲੀ/ ‘friend of the Sadhus’. Such APs are often detached from their phrase. This gives rise to a number of additional arrangements. But again a few are probably impossible, and a number of them are highly unlikely. The following are but a small sample of the acceptable orders:

(b) ਨਾਲੇ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੇਲੀ ਸਨ, ਭਾਈ ਆਤਮਾ ਸਿੰਘ।
C cNP mVP xNP

In arrangement (b), /3/ can be put on /ਸੰਤਾਂ/ to give emphasis to this element. Secondary emphasis would be on sNP.

(c) ਮੇਲੀ ਸਨ ਨਾਲੇ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ, ਭਾਈ ਆਤਮਾ ਸਿੰਘ।
cNP mVP C AP sNP

In arrangement (c), emphasis would be on /ਮੇਲੀ/ which would probably have /3/.

(d) ਭਾਈ ਆਤਮਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੇਲੀ ਸਨ ਨਾਲੇ, ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ।
SNP cNP mVP C AP

In arrangement (d), the sNP is emphasized, with secondary emphasis on /ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ/. /ਨਾਲੇ/ is here about as far from initial position as it can be.

(e) ਨਾਲੇ ਮੇਲੀ ਸਨ ਭਾਈ ਆਤਮਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ।
C cNP mVP sNP AP

In (e) if /3/ is on /ਮੇਲੀ/ the major emphasis would be there, with secondary emphasis on /ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ/. Some such device would be the normal way of putting emphasis both on ‘friend’ and ‘of Sadhus’.

There are a few other limitations on order. In sentence 53 there are two PPs:

/ਦੇਸ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਕੋਨੇ ਤੋਂ/ ‘to another corner’. These may be separated by some other clause coming between, but their order cannot be reversed. This co-ordinating device demands a fixed order of the co-ordinated elements, whether they be clauses or phrases.

10.9 PHRASE ORDER AND SEQUENCING

To say that a given sentence can occur in large number of different permutations can be misleading. In isolation many of the possible arrangements listed and discussed in the last section would sound (or look) very peculiar indeed. Many of the orders are permissible only in certain contexts. Conversely, for any given context, only a small number of the

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‘‘possible’’ orders are actually permitted. To make an accurate judgement of the acceptability of a sentence arrangement it is necessary to contextualize it. In 10.8 we have considered a sentence as acceptable if it seems possible to construt a context into which it would fit acceptably. In some instances, it would not be easy to find such a context.

There is thus a strong interdependence between sentence arrangement and context. Looking at this from the other side, the sentence order is often a signal of structural relationships between successive sentences. Only a few hints at the operation of this system can be given. To give more would require a tremendous amount of careful investigation of a sort that the present study only prepares the way for.

As an example to illustrate this consider the following sentence:

186. ਕਸੂਰ ਸਾਰਾ ਹੈ, ਲਾਲ ਘਗਰੇ ਦਾ।
sNP AP mVP cAP

(m-120)

‘The whole guilt is the red skirt's.

The normal order would be the following:
ਸਾਰਾ ਕਸੂਰ ਲਾਲ ਘਗਰੇ ਦਾ ਹੈ।
sNP cAP mVP

A modifier of /ਕਸੂਰ/ ‘guilt’, ‘trouble’ has been detached and moved to pre-verbal position as a semi-independent element. The cAP has been put in post-verbal position. This puts emphasis on /ਕਸੂਰ/ and on /ਲਾਲ ਘਗਰੇ ਦਾ/ ‘of the red skirt’. The following are the two sentences immediately preceding 186, which ends the paragraph:

187. ਆਪਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੱਕੀ ਤੇ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੀ ਰਾਏ ਹੈ,
sNP mVP
ਕਿ ਬਿਰਜ ਬਾਲਾ ਬੇਕਸੂਰ ਹੈ,
C sNP cAP mVP
ਫੌਜੀ ਅਫਸਰ ਬੇਕਸੂਰ ਹੈ।
sNP cAP mVP

(m-120)

‘It is my very firm opinion that Brij Bala was guiltless. The army officer was guiltless’.

The ‘‘emphasis’’ on /ਕਸੂਰ/ is really only a device to tie this sentence in closely with the previous two sentences. These in turn are tied together by the close parallelism of the second with the last clause of the first. Indeed, it would be quite possible to consider that the two sentences are basically identical, but that /ਆਪਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੱਕੀ ਤੇ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੀ ਰਾਏ ਹੈ, ਕਿ/as been omitted from the second. If /ਸਾਰਾ/ or /ਲਾਲ ਘੱਗਰੇ ਦਾ/ were initial in sentence 186. It would weaken this connection. Moreover, the placing of /ਲਾਲ ਘੱਗਰੇ ਦਾ/ at the very end of the paragraph with

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emphasis consequent on occupying a single short intonation contour after /,/ gives ‘of the red skirt’ some prominence. It is in fact the climax of the paragraph.

The commonest departure from normal order is the transposition of the phrase to post-verbal position. This can be almost any sentence element. The following examples will show some of the possibilities:

The sNP is moved to post-verbal position:

188. ਨਿਤ ਏਦਾਂ ਈ ਕੁੱਤਿਆਂ ਗਵੈਣੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਏ।
PP PP PP VP sNP

(P-117)

‘Everyday food is spoiled like this’.
(Lit: ‘is spoiled to the dogs’).
The oNP is moved to post-verbal position:

189. ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਾਵੇਂ ਸਨ ਗੁਣ
AP sNP mVP oNP
ਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਕੀਰਤੀ।
mVP oNP

‘Neither did anyone sing songs for him, nor was he praised’.

The clauses here are quite parallel, the sNP /ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ/ ‘anyone’ and the detached modifier of the oNP /ਜਿਸ ਦੇ/ ‘for him’ can be considered as implied in the second clause by omission. The use of /ਜਿਸ/ is part of the apparatus joining this sentence to its context.

A PP is moved to post-verbal position:

190. ਭਾਣਾ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਤੇ ਹਰਦੁਆਰੀ ਲਾਲ ਮਰ ਗਿਆ ਹਾਦਸੇ ਵਿਚ।

(m-120)

‘God so willed that Hardwari Lal died in that accident’.
A oNP is moved to post-verbal position:

191. ਮੇਰੀ ਦੂਜੀ ਕਹਾਣੀ ਉਰਦੂ ਦੀ ਸੀ, ਵੈਰਾਨ ਮੰਦਰ।

(m-18)

‘My second story ‘‘Wairan Mander’’, was in urdu’.

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10.10 PRONOUN OMISSION

In isolated sentences, pronouns are often substituted for noun phrases. In sequences of sentences, the pronouns are generally omitted if the subjects of successive sentences are alike. Under many circumstances, therefore, the use of a pronoun is a signal of change of subject. The following paragraph will illustrate the omission of /ਉਹ/. This has been supplied in [ ] wherever some expressed subject would be required in an isolated sentence.

192.	ਸਵੇਰੇ	ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ	ਵੇਲੇ	ਅਜੇ	ਮੂੰਹ	ਝਾਖਰਾ	ਹੁੰਦਾ,		
	PP			PP	sNP		mVP		
	ਕਿ	ਉਹ	ਉਠਦੀ,	ਭਾਵੇਂ	ਸਰਦੀਆਂ	ਹੋਣ,	ਭਾਵੇਂ	ਗਰਮੀਆਂ।	
	C	sNP	mVP	PP	oNP	VP	PP	oNP	

‘Early morning, when one could hardly see anything, she would get up, whether it was summer or winter’.

/ਉਹ/ ‘She’ is expressed in this sentence, the opening one in a sequence of similar subject. Note the nice parallelism in the /ਭਾਵੇਂ ਸਰਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਣ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਗਰਮੀਆਂ[ਹੋਣ]/ ‘be it cold weather, be it hot weather’ with the deletion of the second [ਹੋਣ].

193.	ਨ੍ਹਾ	ਧੋ	ਕੇ	[ਉਹ]	ਪਾਠ	ਵੀ	ਕਰਦੀ	ਜਾਂਦੀ	ਤੇ	[ਉਹ]	ਦੁਧ
	sNP				oNP		mVP		C	sNP	oNP
	ਦਹੀਂ,	ਚੁਲ੍ਹੇ	ਚੌਂਕੇ	ਦਾ	ਕੰਮ	ਵੀ	ਨਜਿਠਦੀ		ਜਾਂਦੀ।		
							mVP				

‘After taking a bath, she would recite the sacred hymns, and she would take care of the milk and other things in the kitchen’.

/ਨ੍ਹਾ ਧੋ ਕੇ/ ‘after bathing’ contains two parallel verbs /ਨ੍ਹਾ/ ‘bathe’ and /ਧੋ/ ‘wash’, see 7.5.2. /ਦੁਧ ਦਹੀਂ/ ‘milk and curds’ and /ਚੁਲ੍ਹੇ ਚੌਂਕੇ/ ‘stove and hearth’ are two-word compounds both used to mean ‘kitchen things’, see 6.9.1.

194.	ਸੁਫਿਆਂ	ਵਿਚ,	ਪਸਾਰਾਂ	ਵਿਚ,	ਵੇਹੜਿਆਂ		ਵਿਚ,	{ਉਹ}	ਝਾੜੂ
	PP		PP		PP			sNP	oNP
	ਬਹੁਕਰ	ਦੇਂਦੀ	{ਤੇ}	ਨਿਕ	ਸੁਕ	ਨੂੰ	{ਉਹ}	ਚਵਾਂ,	
		mVP	C	iNP			sNP	PP	
	ਪਾਸੇ	ਸਾਂਭਦੀ	ਸਲੀਹੰਦੀ।						
		mVP	mVP						

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‘She would sweep (Lit: ‘give the broom to’) the rooms, the entryways, the courtyards, and she would put every little thing in order’.

‘/ਝਾੜੂ ਬਹੁਕਰ/ is a compound of two words both meaning ‘broom’. /ਨਿਕ/ means ‘small thing’; /ਸੁਕ/ is an echo see 6.9.5. /ਚਵ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਾਸੇ/ ‘four sides’, /ਚਵ੍ਹਾਂ/ is a dialectal form of /ਚਾਰੇ/ ‘all four’ synonymous verbal phrases in apposition. This passage is characterized, stylistically, among other things by the heavy use of repetitive compounds and of synonymous appositives.

195.	ਫਿਰ	ਉਸ	ਦੇ	ਨਿੱਕੇ	ਨਿੱਕੇ	ਭੈਣ	ਭਰਾ	ਉਠ	ਬਹਿੰਦੇ,
	PP	sNP							mVP
	[ਤੇ]	ਉਹਨਾਂ	ਨੂੰ	[ਉਹ]	ਸਵਾਰਦੀ		ਸਿਕਰਦੀ।		
	C	iNP		sNP	mVP		mVP		

‘Then her younger brothers and sisters would get up, and she would dress them properly’.

/ਨਿੱਕੇ-ਨਿੱਕੇ/, iteration of an adjective ‘small’. /ਭੈਣ ਭਰਾ/ ‘sisters and brothers’ a two-word compound, see 6.9.1. /ਉਠ ਬਹਿੰਦੇ/ ‘finally get up’, see 7.3.7. /ਸਵਾਰਦੀ ਸਿਕਰਦੀ/ a parallel construction to /ਸਾਂਭਦੀ ਸਲੀਂਹਦੀ/ in 194. Both mean to ‘fix up’.

196.	ਫਿਰ	[ਉਹ]	ਰੋਟੀ	ਟੁੱਕਰ	ਦੇ	ਆਹਰ	ਲਗ	ਜਾਂਦੀ।
	PP	sNP	oNP					mVP

‘Then she gets busy with cooking the dinner’.
/ਰੋਟੀ ਟੁੱਕਰ/ ‘food’, another two-word compound, literally both means ‘bread’.

197.	ਦੁਪਹਿਰੀਂ		[ਉਹ]	ਚਰਖਾ	ਲੈ	ਬਹਿੰਦੀ,	[ਤੇ]	[ਉਹ]
	PP		sNP	oNP	mVP		C	sNP
	ਕਸੀਦਾ	ਛੁਹ	ਰਖਦੀ।					
	oNP	mVP						

‘At noon she would sit beside the spinning wheel, and do some embroidery’.

198.	ਪਿਛਲੇ	ਪਹਿਰ	[ਉਹ]	ਮਾਲ	ਡੰਗਰਾਂ	ਦੇ	ਪੱਠੇ	ਦੱਥੇ	ਦਾ
	PP		sNP	oNP					
	ਫਿਕਰ	ਕਰਦੀ।							
		mVP							

‘In the afternoon, she would take care of the fodder for the cattle’.

/ਮਾਲ ਡੰਗਰਾਂ/ ‘cattle’, a pair of near synonyms. /ਪੱਠੇ/ ‘fodder’ is followed by an echo /ਦੱਥੇ/; in isolation /ਦੱਥੇ/ would mean ‘a handful of fodder’, but this meaning is largely lost in the compound.

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199. ਫਿਰ [ਉਹ] ਰਾਤ ਦਾ ਰੋਟੀ ਟੁੱਕਰ [ਕਰਦੀ] [ਤੇ]
PP sNP oNP mVP C
[ਉਹ] ਸੌਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਬਚਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਵਾਂ
sNP PP iNP oNP
ਪਰੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਕਹਾਣੀਆਂ {ਸੁਣਾਉਦੀ}, ਤੇ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ
mVP C PP
ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਉਹਦੀ ਅੱਖ ਲਗ ਜਾਂਦੀ।
PP PP sNP mVP

(d-92)

'Then she would prepare the evening meal, and tell the children stories of giants and fairies before they sleep; and no one knows her eyes close'.

/ਦੇਵਾਂ ਪਰੀਆਂ/ 'giants and fairies', another two-word compound. Note the total omission of the verbal phrases from the first part of the sentence. In this sentence, the pronoun is expressed because it is in the genitive case /ਉਹਦੀ ਅੱਖ/ 'her eye'. The subject has changed. If another sequence of sentences with 'she' as subject follows, the subject /ਉਹ/ will normally be reintroduced at the beginning.

Under the somewhat different circumstances, pronouns may be repeated for emphasis in a series of short quite clearly parallel structures. The following will illustrate:

200. ਮੈਂ ਮਖਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਦੱਸਾਂਗਾ, ਉਹਦੀ ਗਾਂ, ਉਹਦਾ ਪਾਣੀ,
sNP iNP mVP (
ਉਹਦਾ ਖੇਤ, ਉਹਦੀ ਅਧਿਆਨੀ, ਤੇ ਉਹਦਾ ਪਿੱਠ ਦੇ
ਕੇ ਰੌਂਸ ਤੇ ਬੈਹਣਾ, ਮੈਂ ਕੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਭੁਲਿਆ,
) sNP oNP sVP
ਕਲ੍ਹ ਦੀ ਗਲ ਵਾਂਗ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ [ਮੈਨੂੰ] ਯਾਦ ਹੈ।
PP sNP iNP cNP mVP

(gs-28)

'I will tell Makhni that I have not forgotten anything - - her cow, her water, her letter, her half anna, and her sitting on the platform with her back toward me. I remember everything as if all this happened only yesterday'.

The series of phrases marked ( ) are something of an interpolation without any clear structural relationship to the sentences around them. The repeated use of /ਉਹਦਾ/ throws them into very strong emphasis. But only the close parallelism prevents their being misconstrued by the reader. Such a series must be considered as in highly special style and of very infrequent occurrence.

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10.11 ONE PHRASE SENTENCES

Conversation makes extensive use of one-phrase sentences. Most often these can be considered as shortened forms of longer more normal sentences which might be used in the same context. The longer form would, however, often carry an implication of extreme formality. Commonly a conversation will open with a full sentence, after which it will be carried on for some time in shorter forms.

For example, an opening question might be:

3		1		
ਇਹ	ਕੀ	ਆ	?	‘what is this?’

Then the next question might be simply:

2	3		
ਤੇ	ਇਹ	?	‘And this?’

But the second question is best considered as an abbreviation of:

ਤੇ	ਇਹ	ਕੀ	ਆ	?	And what is this?’

Answers also are usually shortened sentences, often of a single phrase, though longer forms are possible and occasionally used. For example in conversation the following question might be answered in atleast any of the following three ways:

3	2	1			
ਕਿੱਥੇ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	ਮੋਹਣ	?	‘Where did Mohan go?’
2	1				
ਸ਼ਹਿਰ।					‘To the city’.
3		1			
ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ।			‘He went to the city’.
3		1			
ਸ਼ਹਿਰ	ਗਿਆ	ਸੀ	ਮੋਹਣ।		‘Mohan went to the city’.

In literary Punjabi, such questions and answers would be more likely to be of the form:

ਮੋਹਣ ਕਿਥੇ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ?	‘Where did Mohan go?’
ਮੋਹਣ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ।	‘Mohan went to the city’.

The following conversational question form would also have various possible answers, the shorter ones being more usual:

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3 2 1		
ਕਿਨ੍ਹੇ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਸੀ,	ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ।	‘who saw Sohan?’
3 1		
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ।		‘Mohan’
3 1		
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਸੀ।		‘Mohan saw’
3 1		
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਸੀ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ।		‘Mohan saw Sohan’.

The equivalent literary forms would be:

ਕਿਨ੍ਹੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਸੀ।	‘Who saw Sohan’.
ਮੋਹਣ ਨੇ ਸੋਹਣ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਸੀ।	‘Mohan saw Sohan’.

Such literary forms are, of course, only forms, and departures from them must be expected. However the departures would not be so frequent as in colloquial, and in general longer forms with more nearly normal order will be much more common in all forms of written Punjabi than in conversation.

10.12 POETIC SYNTAX

Poetry is characterized by great freedom of order. It differs from both literary prose and colloquial speech in that there is appreciable freedom of word order, not merely of phrase order. There is also considerably more omission of certain function words than will be found in prose. These features can both be illustrated in the following two poems. Each is given in the original form followed by a re-arrangement into normal order is, of course, in an older form of Punjabi. In some instances modern forms are substituted in the re-ordering.

201. (a) ਇਕ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਨ੍ਹਾਵਣ ਆਈ ਦੁਰਗਸ਼ਾਹ।

ਦੁਰਗਸ਼ਾਹ ਇਕ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਨ੍ਹਾਵਣ ਆਈ।
sNP PP mVP

‘One day Durga came to bathe’.

(b) ਇੰਦਰ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਸੁਣਾਈ ਅਪਣੇ ਹਾਲ ਦੀ।

ਇੰਦਰ ਨੇ ਉਹਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਹਾਲ ਦੀ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਸੁਣਾਈ।
sNP iNP oNP mVP

‘Indra told her the tale of his misfortunes’.

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(c) ਛੀਨ ਲਈ ਠੁਕਰਾਈ ਸਾਤੇ ਦਾਨਵੀ।

ਸਾਥੋਂ ਦਾਨਵੀ ਠੁਕਰਾਈ ਛੀਨ ਲਈ।
PP sNP oNP mVP

'The devils have snatched away from us our Kingdom'.

(d) ਲੋਕੀ ਤਿਹੀ ਪਰਾਈ ਢੋਈ ਆਪਣੀ।

ਤਿਹੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਢੋਈ ਲੋਕੀਂ ਫਿਰਾਈ।
'They have spread their influence through the worlds'.

(e) ਬੈਠੇ ਵਾਏ ਵਧਾਈ ਤੇ ਅਮਰਾਵਤੀ।

ਵਾਏ ਵਧਾਈ ਬੈਠੇ, ਤੇ ਅਮਰਾਵਤੀ।
PP VP C PP

'And they have spread over the heavens, and even Amraoti'.

(f) ਦਿੱਤੇ ਦੇਵ ਭਜਾਈ ਸਭਨਾਂ ਰਾਕਸ਼ਾਂ।

ਸਭਨਾਂ ਰਾਕਸ਼ਾਂ ਨੇ ਦੇਵ ਭਜਾਈ ਦਿੱਤੇ।
sNP oNP mVP

'All the Rakshas have put the Gods to flight'.

(g) ਕਿਸੇ ਨਾ ਜਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਈ ਮੇਹਖੇ ਦੈਤ ਨੂੰ।

ਕਿਨੈ ਨਾ ਮੈਹਖੇ ਦੈਤ ਨੂੰ ਜਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਈ।
sNP iNP mVP

'No one can overpower the devil Mehkha'.

(h) ਤੇਰੀ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਤਕਾਈ ਦੇਵੀ ਦੁਰਗਸ਼ਾਹ

ਦੇਵੀ ਦੁਰਗਸ਼ਾਹ, ਮੈਂ ਤੇਰੀ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਤੁਕਾਈ।
VoC sNP oNP mVP

'O Goddess Durga, I have sought your protection'.

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The most extreme examples are seen in line f where the verb phrase /ਭਜਾਈ ਦਿੱਤੇ/ ‘put to flight’ and in line e where /ਵਧਾਈ ਬੈਠੇ/ ‘finished spreading out’, are divided and inverted.

Note : The /ਨੇ/ does not appear in the original at all, but is supplied twice (lines b and f) in the re-arrangement.

The following is a modern poem by Sant Singh Sekhon (So-121) in the same classical /**ਵਾਰ**/ genre. The language here is more modern, of course, but there are occasional archaistic touches appropriate to the classical form:

202. (a) ਜਾਣਾ ਨਾਦਰਸ਼ਾਹ ਨੂੰ ਮੈਂ ਤੈਥੋਂ ਵੱਧ।
ਮੈਂ ਤੈਥੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਨਾਦਰਸ਼ਾਹ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਣਾ।
sNP PP iNP mVP

‘I know Nadar Shah more than you do’.

(b) ਕੀ ਹੈ ਤੇਰੀ ਉਮਰ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤੀਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਅੱਧ।
ਤੇਰੀ ਉਮਰ ਕੀ ਹੈ, ਤੇਰੀ ਉਮਰ ਤੀਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਅੱਧ ਨਹੀਂ।

‘What is your age? Not even one half of thirty’.

(c) ਕੀਤਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਸੋਚ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਰੀਖਾਂ ਰਦ।
ਤਾਰੀਖਾਂ ਨੇ ਤੇਰੀ ਸੋਚ ਨੂੰ ਰਦ ਕੀਤਾ।
sNP iNP mVP

‘Histories have confused your thinking’.

(d) ਨਾਦਰਸ਼ਾਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਬੇਸਮਝ ਬਦ।
ਨਾਦਰਸ਼ਾਹ ਕੋਈ ਬੇਸਮਝ ਬਦ ਨਹੀ ਸੀ।
sNP cNP mVP

‘Nadar Shah was not a stupid villain’.

(e) ਲੋਕੀਂ ਹੋਣ ਦੁਖੀ ਰਾਜ ਬੰਸਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਜਦ।
ਜਦ ਲੋਕ ਰਾਜ ਬੰਸਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਦੁਖੀ ਹੋਣ।
Crd sNP PP AP VP

‘When the people are oppressed by the ruling dynasties’.

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(f) ਰਾਜੇ ਅਤੇ ਅਮੀਰ ਕਰਨ ਜਦ ਪਰਜਾ ਬਦ
ਜਦ ਰਾਜੇ ਤੇ ਅਮੀਰ ਪਰਜਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਦ ਕਰਨ।
Crd sNP iNP VP

'When king and ruler mistreat their subjects'.

(g) ਖਾਵਣ ਬਾੜਾਂ ਖੇਤ ਨੂੰ ਜਦ ਜਾਂਦੀਆਂ ਲਗ।
ਜਦ ਵਾੜਾਂ ਖੇਤ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਣ ਲਗ ਜਾਂਦੀਆਂ।
Crd sNP iNP VP

'When the fences begin to eat the field'.
(i.e. when the protectors begin to assault the protected).

(h) ਰਾਜੇ ਹੀ ਜਦ ਆਪਣਾ ਖੋ ਬੈਠਣ ਤਗ।
ਜਦ ਰਾਜੇ ਹੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਤਗ ਖੋ ਬੈਠਣ।
Crd sNP oNP mVP

'When the Kings themselves have completely lost their self-control'.

(i) ਛੋਟੇ ਬਡੇ ਅਮੀਰ ਫਿਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਚ।
ਫਿਰ ਛੋਟੇ ਤੇ ਬਡੇ ਤੇ ਅਮੀਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਚ ਰਖਦੇ।
PP sNP mVP

'Then little people, big people, and rulers do not hesitate'.

(j) ਓਦੋਂ ਲੋਕੀਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ, ਕੋਈ ਦੇ ਉਲੱਦ।
(k) ਐਸੇ ਰਾਜ ਸਮਾਜ ਨੂੰ, ਨੇਕ ਹੋਵੇ ਬਦ।

ਓਦੋਂ ਲੋਕ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਐਸੇ ਰਾਜ ਸਮਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਉਲਦ
PP sNP mVP C sNP iNP mVP
ਦੇ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਉਹ ਨੇਕ ਹੋਵੇ ਜਾਂ ਬਦ ਹੋਵੇ।
PP sNP AP VP C AP VP

'Then people wish that someone might change that kingdom and society, be it good or bad.

(l) ਨਾਦਰਸ਼ਾਹ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਉਠਿਆ ਸੀ ਤਦ।
ਤਦ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਦਰਸ਼ਾਹ ਵੀ ਉਠਿਆ ਸੀ।
Crd PP sNP mVP

'Then under these circumstances Nadar Shah arose'.

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(m) ਕੀਤੀ ਦੇਸ ਈਰਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਉਲੱਦ ਪੁਲੱਦ।
ਉਸ ਨੇ ਈਰਾਨ ਦੇਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਲੱਦ ਪੁਲੱਦ ਕੀਤੀ।
sNP PP mVP

'He brought revolution in Iran'.

(n) ਕਾਬਲ ਦੇ ਵੀ ਲੋਕ ਮਿਲੇ ਉਸ ਤਾਂਈ ਵਧ।
ਉਸ ਤਾਈਂ ਕਾਬਲ ਦੇ ਲੋਕ ਵੀ ਵਧ ਕੇ ਮਿਲੇ।
PP sNP sVP mVP

'Even the people of Kabul joined him enthusiastically'.

(o) ਪਾਈ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਨੇ ਫਿਰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਦ।
ਫਿਰ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਦ ਪਾਈ।
PP sNP iNP oNP mVP

'And then India called him'.

Line g contains an example of a verbal phrase which is divided and inverted. Line i contains one which is inverted but not divided. Line m contains an echo compound /ਉਲੱਦ ਪੁਲੱਦ/ 'change', part of another inverted and divided verbal phrase. In a number of places, post-positions or connectives are omitted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
sNP	Subject Noun Phrase
oNP	Direct Object Noun Phrase
iNP	Indirect Object Noun Phrase
A	Adjective
AP	Adjective Phrase
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
sVP	Subordinate Verb Phrase
mVP	Main Verb Phrase
Adv	Adverb
Pr	Pronoun
C	Connective
P	Post-position
PP	Post-positional Phrase
Crd	Co-ordinate
E	Emphasis
Sing.	Singular
Plur.	Plural
Masc.	Masculine
Fem.	Feminine

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WORKS QUOTED

d	Kartar Singh Duggal	Nawan Admi., Amritsar (No date)
da		Larai Nahin, Delhi, 1953.
g	Gurbax Singh	Bhakhdi Jiwan Changiari, Preet Nagar, fourth printing, 1954.
gs	Gurbax Singh	Merian Abhul Yadan, Preet Nagar, fourth printing, 1954.
G	Guru Gobind Singh	Chandi Di War
gd	Ganda Singh	Afghanistan Da Safar, New Delhi, Second printing, 1958.
ic	Iswar Chandar Nanda	Lishkare, Delhi, 1953.
k	Jaswant Singh Kanwal	Hani, Delhi, 1961.
m	Mohan Singh Dewana	Parandi, Amritsar, 1955.
m2	Mohan Singh Dewana	Rang Tamashe, Amritsar 1951.
n	Surinder Singh Narula	Apne Parae, Amritsar, 1955.
ns	Nanak Singh	Astak Nastak, New Delhi, 1959.
nsa	Nanak Singh	Dur Kinare, Amritsar, ninth printing, 1960.
p	Gurdial Singh Phul	Bewasi Te Hun Nahin, New Delhi, 1955.
S	Sant Singh Sekhon	Lahu Mitti, Ludhiana, second edition, 1957.
So	Sant Singh Sekhon	Chhe Ghar, Ludhiana, sixth printing, 1950.
SS	Sant Singh Sekhon	Samachar, Ludhiana, fifth printing, 1953.

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Sl	Sant Singh Sekhon	Tapia Kion Khapia, Ludhiana, 1950.
wa	Wir Singh	Guru Nanak Chamatkar, Part II, Amritsar, sixth printing, 1953.
wb	Wir Singh	Kalaghidhar Chamatkar, Part I, Amritsar, ninth printing, 1959.
wc	Wir Singh	Kalghidhar Chamatkar, Part II, Amritsar, eighth printing, 1959.

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